



L.A. Did The Right Thing

The Uprising

by Ray Luc Levasseur

The Los Angeles uprising isn't about a free lunch or integrated lunch counters. It's about those whose lives have been diss'd: disinherited, displaced, discriminated against, and disenfranchised. It's about 500 years of European-exported genocide. The entire state of California sits on stolen Indian and Mexican land. There is nothing legitimate about this kind of theft, nor the institutional racism and violent repression which accompanies it.

The most intense flames of this uprising have burned in predominantly Black South Central L.A. This community is one of many emanating from the African Diaspora and its historically developed land base in the Black Belt south. Today's resistance draws its lifeblood from the earliest slave rebellions and is embodied in the descendants of Malcolm X. There is no "middle of the road" after the Middle Passage.

There are common threads between the L.A. uprising and the Palestinian Intifada. Both defy overwhelming superior police and military forces. Both constitute dispossessed nations fighting for basic human rights. And at the heart of their struggles is the right to national identity and land. The L.A. uprising has broken through one of oppression's fundamental realities: its disarming effectiveness at turning its victims against each other instead of their oppressors. The rising has redirected the rage of its participants against the moral bankruptcy of capitalism and white supremacy.

As of this writing, the battleground has claimed 50 lives in four days, most by police gunfire. In the usual course of events, L.A.'s killing grounds would take two weeks to claim as many lives. The significant difference is that instead of passively waiting for death to stalk them, the people went on the offensive. Or what might be considered rigorous self-defense, since they were going to die anyway through police violence, internecine warfare, alcohol and drug poisoning, and social neglect.

The uprising resulted in extensive property damage. While there was some needless destruction, the people's firebombs were strikingly accurate at rooting at capitalism's ghetto infrastructure. For the most part people avoided damaging schools, mosques, churches, and housing. Most damaged property was corporate and absentee owned. More than one Bank of Amerikkka branch was torched into oblivion. These are businesses that bleed the community with overpriced staples of life, then take the money and run. These are the purveyors of unlimited supplies of alcohol. It was like pouring salt on leeches as the profiteers squirmed in their suburban enclaves.

When faced with uprising and mass resistance, the government has historically responded with military intervention. From one decade and century to another: Watts, East St. Louis, Chicago, New York - the police and military have combined to exact a fearful death toll. It was



The aftermath of an uprising: a massive military presence with thousands arrested.

during the 1965 Watts rebellion that Daryl Gates - the Bull Conner of L.A. - drew his first blood as a police commander. From Watts, Black rage swept through Cleveland in '66, and Newark, Detroit, and other cities in 1967. After returning from Vietnam, I travelled to Detroit and saw immense destruction. In Vietnam I'd seen extensive bomb damage from the door of a helicopter; in Detroit I saw from the asphalt. Both areas burned in wars for self-determination. The deployment of federal troops is predictable, but uprisings that trigger deployment demand attention and demonstrate the potential power of the people.

This is not a time for apology and accommodation. If I began writing all the names of those murdered and beaten senseless by the police, I'd be writing until forever. I could never catch up with the reality. With each death is a killer cop who walks free. I know I've written this before, but it's something I can't forget. It shouldn't be forgotten. I will write but two: Philip Pannell, a Black teenager from Teaneck, New Jersey, who died from a police officer's bullet as his hands were raised over his head. And Ralph Canady, a personal friend, who was murdered in cold blood by police in Baltimore, Maryland. No civil rights enquiries were initiated into these murders. There rarely are. It took 50 deaths in L.A. and the U.S. government's embarrassment in the court of world opinion to legitimize a federal inquiry into the Rodney King case.

Thousands have been arrested in L.A., and the federal and state governments have formed a special task

force to prosecute them. Steal a pair of shoes and go to jail; rip off the livelihood of a people and you're rewarded with profits and high office. These prosecutions will be punitive and vindictive. Years after the Watts rebellion, some of its participants are still in California prisons. Black Nationalist Ahmed Evans was sentenced to death following the Cleveland uprising. I first met Ralph Canady after he'd been railroaded to prison in the wake of the 1968 rebellion in Nashville's Black community. Colonial rebellions strike fear in the bowels of American capitalism, and it'll spare no effort to imprison the most rebellious. Still in prison, some for decades, are those women and men that represent their peoples' aspirations to be free: Leonard Peltier, Geronimo Pratt, Mumia Abu-Jamal, Gary Tyler, Alejandrina Torres, Abdul Haqq, and many others. As Mandela put it - there's no easy walk to freedom.

The federal deployment in L.A. includes elements of the U.S. Marshal's Service, who made their mark in history tracking fugitive slaves, the racist dogs of the Border Patrol, and the Bureau of Prisons. The presence of the latter is a further indication of what lies in store for the rebellious poor: more prisons in a country that's already choking with them. The U.S. has more steel cages than any country on earth, and imprisons more Blacks per capita than South Africa. I live in this compressed nightmare of a gulag. Each year of my imprisonment I've endured the exile with those from amerikkka's barrios and ghettos, including South Central and East L.A.

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Red Army Fraction

Communique



To all those searching for an answer to the question of how a humane existence, both here and world-wide, can be organized concretely and brought about:

We are also searching.

There are thousands of problems on the table, crying out for solutions, and if they aren't soon taken up and resolved, then all of humanity will find itself in a catastrophe.

These have all come about as a result of the capitalist principle that profit and power are what matter, while people and nature are secondary.

We, the RAF, have, since '89, begun thinking harder about these things and discussing how we, as with everyone else with a history in the German resistance, can no longer go on as before. We have decided that we need to find new political destinations which can lead to day-to-day changes in peoples' lives here and now and which surpasses the ruling powers' cold grip over life's reality. For this, it's necessary to take a look at the common history of everyone in the resistance, to think about what we did right and what we did wrong, and what meaning all of this has for the future.

Our starting points for this were:

1. The simple fact that we now find ourselves in a totally changed global political situation: the dismantling of state socialist systems and the end of the cold war.

We were confronted with the possibility that the attempt to create space for liberation through a common international struggle had not been successful. The liberation struggles around the globe were altogether too weak to gain any ground against the expanded militarism of imperialism.

The fall of the socialist states, as the result of unresolved internal contradictions, had catastrophic effects for millions of people world-wide and was a major set-back for all those involved in liberation struggles around the globe.

But it also made much clearer the need for liberation struggles to stem from the self-consciousness of the peoples' themselves if they are to develop authentic goals and conditions. Only from this can an internationalist force arise.

Many comrades in the Three Continents have mentioned this in discussions and have since begun developing and pursuing entirely new politics - we need to do that here as well. In this, we are tied to them.

2. We were ourselves confronted with the fact that we, in the years before '89, developed a politic which became politically weaker instead of stronger. For various reasons, we could no longer offer the relevance to people here which is needed to make a common struggle possible.

As one of our major faults, we saw that we were too directed at those people who were already standing, while not offering anything to those who hadn't even stood up yet!

It became clear to us that we had to seek out people, and that no longer could only we, as the guerrilla, make the decisions and have everyone else orient themselves to us. We all too often thought otherwise, but this is the

reality nonetheless.

We had severely limited our politics to attacks on the strategists of imperialism and had failed to search for immediate positive goals and for how a social alternative could begin and exist here and now. That this is possible, and that we need to begin such a process, was shown to us through the experiences of others who have struggled.

Our relationship to those people we had the most to do with was primarily one of carrying out a common attack. So there was little opportunity to develop and live together with others in our own social setting on a day-to-day basis. Only in this way could we really have arrived at a common politics, one which could be relevant to people outside of the various scene-ghettos, one which could show that the chill and disempowerment of imperialism were not natural fates, but that they could be thwarted whenever and wherever people act together in solidarity to reach their needs and begin to live this way here and now.

The consequences of this for us were two years of a parallel process of reorientation and practical intervention.

We thought that through choosing and explaining our actions we could create both a new relationship and the prerequisites for a common discussion, thereby making a common perspective with more people and groups possible.

That this process was not all-encompassing, but rather was piecemeal, was the result of our mistake of only furthering the discussion in communiques and letters.

And this statement is only a beginning, because we still need to discuss things in much more detail.

After these past two years, it has become clear to us that we can't create any real space in this way, so our major concerns right now and for the time being are as follows:

The long-needed common discussion of building ties between different groups and people; because no matter where they live, no matter what their day-to-day situation is in this society, there remains the great necessity for people to take matters into their own hands and to search together for solutions.

We believe that such ties can become the basis of the not-yet-existing force which we have called the "counter-power from below". As long as there is no such a social alternative to the collapse and despair of this system, more and more people will drift along without any perspective, more and more people will turn to the needle or to suicide, and so on. And it will also mean more and more people marching along behind the fascists.

From our experiences and from our discussions with comrades about these questions, we are convinced that the guerrilla cannot play the leading role in this process.

Deadly actions from us against the pillars of State and economy can't advance this necessary process, because they escalate the situation for us and for everyone searching for answers.

The quality of such actions is to give a sense of clarity as to what concrete changes need to be started on. They can't, however, give this clarity in a time when the primary concern is a search for new foundations. That's

what we take it to mean when people say that with such actions we remove the goal ahead of time.

We have decided to halt the escalation from our side. That means, stopping attacks on the leading representatives of the economy and the state during this necessary process.

This process of discussions and the creation of a counter-power from below is, we feel, closely tied to the struggle for the freedom of the political prisoners.

After 20 years of the torture and destruction of the prisoners, it is necessary to demand their right to life - and to demand their freedom!

Justice Minister Kinkel, with his plan revealed in January to release those prisoners unfit for detention, as well as some of those serving long sentences, has taken the first step on the State's side and shown that there are fractions in the State apparatus that don't believe that the social contradictions and resistance can be kept under control with police/military means alone.

They have sought to destroy the prisoners for the past 20 years. The Kinkel-proposal now raises the question if the State is prepared to give up its policy of the eradication of all those struggling for a self-determined life, those that will not bow down to the power of money, those that formulate their own interests and goals in opposition to the State's profit-motives.

So, is there still room for political solutions? (If the representatives of the economy put their pressure on the government to bend, all the better.)

We still haven't been shown whether the Kinkel proposal is serious or not. Until now, there have been few changes, except that Claudia Wannersdorfer got out a few months earlier than her scheduled release date. All the other prisoners unfit for detention - Günter Sonnenberg, Bernd Rösner, Isabel Jacob, and Ali Jansen - they are still being held. And Irmgard Moeller has been in jail for 20 years.

Conditions have not improved to this day. The 2/3 hearings [prisoners in Germany can be released after serving two-thirds of their sentence - ed.] for Norbert Hofmeier, Bärbel Perau, and Thomas Thoene were virtual inquisitions. Angelika Goder is being held in jail despite her sickness. And the new charges being brought against some prisoners with the new crown witnesses [ex-RAF captured in the former DDR who are now collaborating with the state - ed.] seem to point to the State's goal being to bury the prisoners in jail forever.

In the periodical "Welt", reference is made to the Stuttgart justice ministry's unbroken policy of destruction: In Günter's case, who has been held, unfit for detention, for the past 15 years, it might be possible to discuss his freedom if he would just submit passively to the repressive prison harassment, but he's a "reticent prisoner", because he's in solidarity and still associates

Letter From Günter Sonnenberg, RAF Prisoner

I want, with this letter, to explain the things I'll have to come to grips with, should I be released from jail in early May - after 15 years of interment.

I will have to be examined by a neurologist, under normal living conditions (that is, outside of prison and isolation), to see just how bad the danger of my epileptic fits is.

It will have to be determined if the piece of the bullet (one of the ones that entered my head), which is now close to the opening of one of my arteries, has moved any since my last examination. Any shift in its position could be life-threatening.

But for me, the most important thing will be to see just how much I have lost, forgotten, and unlearned as a result of my bullet-wounds and 15 years of imprisonment.

After I received my bullet-wounds in 1977, I was left with the consciousness of a child, so re-learning my memory and intelligence had to start from the beginning.

The things I have re-learned over the past 15 years are just fragments of what I used to know and understand.

In the prosecution's summary remarks in April 1978, it was stated that, should I regain my freedom, I would only ever be able to perform simple labour tasks, like being a postal worker for example.

I have different aspirations than that of a postal worker; what I can effectively do will have to be determined under free conditions (that is, in freedom).

I mentioned "the consciousness of a child" above; I'd like to expand on that:

I didn't know anything except my name. I could

neither read nor write, nor formulate things in any form. Words and concepts were utterly foreign to me. Even things having to do with daily life - like plate and spoon, bed and sink, book and radio - I no longer knew these words and concepts.

At 22, I was starting over.

And I had to re-learn things living in isolation.

Being imprisoned as a political prisoner for 15 years also means being closed off from society's on-going political processes; I had little contact with the outside, and almost no room here for political intervention. In other words, I'm going to need some time to re-orient myself to the political conditions, to form opinions, and to organize.

State prosecutor Kurth asked my lawyer on January 16/92 if, after going free after 15 years in prison, I would make a statement saying that I would:

- no longer advocate violence as a means of reaching a political goal, and that I would
- in future, lead a "trouble-free" life.

Such a statement would require me to recognize the State's monopoly on violence as a normal state of affairs.

I will never give such a statement.

This is my responsibility to the many millions of people who die as a result of the wealth in the metropolises. And I will never lose sight of the fact that everyone whom the capitalist world market keeps in misery deserves a right to live.

Bruschal, 18.02.92

(from *Angehörigen Info* #87)

with his former friends. This is how they spread malicious sentiments to stop the possibility of release.

This is in stark contradiction to State's recent steps to take a new stance.

Those prisoners unfit for detention and those who have been held the longest must be released immediately, and all others must be regrouped until they are released.

It will be of great significance, what direction things move in, in the time to come: this will be evidence to everyone which way things are moving. Which fraction of the apparatus will win out, the one which realizes it needs to begin seeking political solutions, or the one that wants to stick a new knife into already festering wounds?

This won't only determine the State's relationship to the political prisoners. There are other pressing matters which will soon become clear from all of this. Because in

those areas where the struggles have already been so wide that some space has been created, it will quickly be revealed if the State wants to move towards political solutions or war.

For example, if they will let the people of the Hafenstraße continue their existence after 10 years of struggle.

But there's actually much more at stake:

- There are the struggles of the social prisoners against isolation and poor conditions in the prisons. It would be unacceptable if the political prisoners are removed from the isolation wings, only to have social prisoners move in.

All isolation facilities must be closed down!

- There are the struggles for centres and living and housing spaces for people that don't have any.

- It remains to be seen just how quickly the people of the former-DDR will be reduced to passive objects of the capitalist system, or whether they can grab some room of their own for self-development.

- Another important question is just how long the State will continue its racist policies against refugees, handling them as "Untermenschen" [German for subhumans - ed.] in an attempt to steer the failing economy away from unemployment, housing shortages, poverty, etc. And how long it can continue to ship these people back to the conditions of despair which it created in the first place.

- It has long been the reality that the cops support the fascists and beat down anti-fascists, even sometimes killing demonstrators, like Conny Wissmann, and that they even shoot at them, like a few months ago in Frankfurt, and that they torture refugees with electroshock, etc.

- The question remains whether German soldiers will once again march against another people, and for how long they will continue to prop up fascist regimes with weapons and support, allowing populations to be massacred.

For everyone interested in these questions - and of course this is not a full list - and developing a struggle in society, it has yet to be determined how wide a space for political solutions can be created.

No point can be backed down on, that's why social pressure and struggle must be applied to press forward our demands.

We have, by backing down from the escalation on our side, created a possibility for more space for political solutions.

Now the ball is in the State's court.

And because no one knows how they will react, we need to support a process of discussion and building.

If they decide to roll over everyone involved in this process with more repression and destruction, in other words, if they start up the war again, then the phase of de-escalation will be over - we won't sit by as spectators and do nothing.

If they don't let us, that is, everyone struggling for a humane society, live, then they must know that we won't let their elite live either.

Even though it's not in our best interest: war can only be answered with war.

Red Army Fraction

10.4.1992

Editorial Notes

Here we are again with yet another issue, well behind schedule. As always we have our atrocious financial situation to blame for this. Some of the contents of this issue are from many months but because we are virtually the only source of this kind of information in North America we felt it necessary to publish them. During the course of putting together this issue Los Angeles exploded. We wanted to cover a lot of it in the bulletin but because we already had a number of pieces to go into this issue we decided to limit ourselves to just printing Ray Levasseur's article. We do recommend getting L.A. Today from P.O. Box 8722, Minneapolis, MN, 55408 USA if you want more info. Unfortunately we are also not able to include anything in this issue about the Toronto riots. Hopefully we can do so in issue #12. That is if we have enough money!!

Arm The Spirit



A Letter From The "Moro-Ter" Appeal Trial

The following statement on the "Moro-Ter" Appeal Trial was sent to us from comrades of the Wotta Sitta collective, 3 months ago. Unfortunately due to our dire financial situation we have been delayed in publishing this letter which is dated December 1991. At present we do not know the outcome of the trial, but hopefully we can provide an update in our next issue. For our North American readers some of this may be confusing due to the general lack of information about the Italian revolutionary movements that has been published on this continent. Write to us for more info and we'll send some.

Dear comrades:

Talking about this trial and about why we are here in the Foro Italico bunker can only make sense if it is all put into the context of the struggle that we, as well as all revolutionary people, are facing at the moment, here in Italy and all over the Europe.

The Moro-ter Appeal trial is, in fact, being conducted merely as a formality; the bourgeoisie want to try the guerrilla without giving any attention to us as political subjects, and to get it over with quickly and with as little publicity as possible.

Actually, the political-military initiative of the Red Brigades in the last 20 years, first and foremost by the attack on the "national solidarity" policy in 1978, through to its collapse during the Moro kidnapping and "Spring Campaign", has given rise to deep contradictions inside the power machinery of the Italian State and the entire framework of the imperialist bourgeoisie; ranging from the governmental parties to the subordinate and reformist ones. Such contradictions have, as yet, no solution.

The confrontation between the "state's apparatus" continues today, and it is as much a series of "settlings of scores" as it is an attempt to manipulate and misrepresent both the armed struggle experience and that of the entire class struggle, in order to shut out the perspectives of the revolutionary movement.

This process is nothing more than the result of the counter-revolutionary strategy that has in the 80's implemented "the trials against armed struggle" as part of a global action to depoliticize the revolutionary movement and to reduce the guerrilla movement to merely a criminal phenomenon; in the face of the new grounds for struggle and the formation of class consciousness.

The first grade Moro-ter trial, which ended in 1988, was a very clear example of this strategy, through the introduction of a plan for a political solution to armed struggle, put forward by some sectors of the State machinery with the active collaboration of ex-combatants.

All of us know well how it all ended up! The political-solution debate during the Moro-ter trial ended with most of the BR prisoners giving up on the armed struggle through, on the one hand, "the battle for freedom" of the Curcio-Moretti-Balzerini tendency, and on the other hand, the "battle for amnesty" of the Gallianari tendency. Only 10 defendants in the trial are still on the side of the revolution and armed struggle.

Now, after three years the terms of the problem have changed a lot. The "political solution", "the end of a phase", "the end of the emergence" are from now on concepts which are linked to the States' re-structuring project and are part of the preventive counterrevolutionary strategy of the imperialist bourgeoisie.

The Executive itself directly carries out this policy and all the ex-revolutionaries who went over to the State's side three years ago today have become tools of the parties and their fractions, and of the media and reformists. They are "squeezed lemons", at the mercy of the power struggles among the bourgeois factions.

The media rumours around "the pardon for Curcio"

last summer - even its grotesque epilogue - show the linkage between "the armed struggle issue" and the re-structuring process of the State in Italy at this juncture. After two months of campaigning on TV and in the newspapers for the release of Curcio and the public commitment of President Cossiga, the Government, the president, the political parties have not decided anything, and Curcio is still in jail because of the contradiction in the state apparatus.

Cossiga - "the President" - over and above his whimsical tall tales, has raised a very concrete issue for the bourgeoisie: the necessity of ending a precise phase of the social confrontation in Italy, by placing on the same level both the acknowledgement of the infamous "Gladio" [secret NATO strategy designed to put down potential leftist insurgencies in Europe - ed.] initiative and strategy and the mercy shown for some so-called "leaders of the armed struggle" reduced to "reason", in order to create mass consensus and pacification around a new political and social deal along with "all the forces of civil society."

Looking at the warfare stirred up inside the party's system and around the various bourgeois lobbies, it seems a dream less feasible than they think.

For the communists all this has turned into yet another political attack against the guerrilla's experience, the revolutionary prisoners and the class struggle (by and large).

For a long time now, this attack is carried out on a continental level. With the support of the media and the bourgeois intellectuals and members of the decayed reformism, they try to place the development of armed struggle and the west-european communist movement inside the framework of the crash of the political system of the Eastern countries and the Soviet Union, effectively denying the process of class autonomy in which the guerrilla itself developed.

It is worthwhile noting that the "political solution" line, launched some time ago in Italy, is now also catching on in the FRG, using the capture of the ex-RAF militants (who had been out of the organization for a long time and had already settled in the former GDR) in order to launch by their active collaboration a heavy attack against the entire RAF experience. The pattern of "terrorism coming from and led by the East" is being propagated by imperialism in the FRG and in every country. The aim is to bury the class contradictions, the history of the communist movement and its current potential with the so-called "crash of communism."

All this imperialist bourgeois propaganda against the revolutionary movements of Europe is nothing but one of the manifestations of the economic and political crisis and of the crucial momentum going on all over the West European states.

In Italy, the comprehensive crisis of the economic, political and social system is the most prominent fact of the last few years.

The massive growth of the production systems throughout the 80's has ended up with the shaking up of the political social balance which had been consolidated by 40 years of Christian Democratic government, and this has not been followed up with the necessary adjust-



Natalia Ligas and Giovanni Senzani

ment of the institutional machinery.

It has been the proletariat and the weakened social sectors who have had to pay for the growth of the Italian economy, because every source has been channelled towards the implementation of the development of Italian multi-national monopolies at home and abroad: Europe, the Middle-East/Mediterranean area, and Latin America. There is an "Italy of monopolies", where multi-nationals such as FIAT have increased their profits and their market areas enormously in order to face the crisis on a world-wide scale, in the same way it has multiplied the contradictions, the inequalities and the class polarization inside of the capitalist social formations. The dynamics of polarization between richness and poverty, development and underdevelopment have become more and more wide, keeping up with the internationalization process of Italian capital. But at the same time it has multiplied the contradictions inside the bourgeois fractions themselves.

The "new laissez-faire economic turning point" pushed on by the big monopolies and by the states, already consolidated in all western countries, has almost liquidated the entire welfare state structure, also in Italy. In a few years it has eaten away at all the achievements of the working class and proletariat from the 60's and 70's, but at the same time it has broken the balance which allowed the consolidation of the foundation of Christian Democratic power and the role of the reformist parties, as "stabilizers" of the social conflicts.

Today, with the onset of recession we see a display of more and more contradictory trends: private industrial trusts are pushing to get a larger influence in the economy and to liquidate the public nationalized industry; the rise of "leagues" [referring to the racist Lombard League who advocate splitting Italy up into 3 separate nations - ed.] and local regional political alliances is showing the government and non-governmental parties the spectrum of disintegration of the national political system. The increasing gap between development and underdevelopment between northern and southern Italy is quickly becoming a political/social issue of great importance, one which the Executive branch is countering with the model of "struggle against organized crime".

On the other hand, in the face of the needs and tasks imposed by the economic crisis and by Italy's interna-

tional role, the political system appears more and more as a barrier which prevents the bourgeois strategy from coming up with quick political decisions which will give Italy the "shakes" which according to Carli, the Minister of the Treasury, and Romiti, the boss of the FIAT Corporation, and company are needed: mass dismissals, attacks on wages, lowering of labour-costs, cuts in the public budget, privatization.

The institutional reform projects and initiatives outlining the process of the re-structuring of the state must be seen in such a context, from the reform of the parliamentary system and the electoral barrier at 5% to the political centralization of the State's departments and agencies, to regional reform, and to the restructuring of the police and judicial apparatus.

All the muddled bourgeois debate around the so-called "Second Republic" is nothing but the outer expression of a new articulation process of bourgeois power and an "authoritarian building up of democracy", so that the political powers can rule with no consensus and lead the integration of Italy into the "Great Europe" and inside of the "new world order" that imperialism is imposing.

The tough struggle which the proletariat is now faced with - here and in all class realities - is taking place all over West-Europe.

The building up of the "Great Europe" - the economic-political integration process with "Great Germany" at the centre - is the dynamic which is affecting at present the major decisions in every state and every specific reality, at political, economical, military and social levels.

The national states are now faced with a "step-by-step" shifting of key functions of political power to the "supranational" sphere of the EEC: we are now seeing a complex process of the re-defining of state-form. The economic and foreign policies, as well as those of "defense and security" are being more and more subjected to centralization and integration at a European level, in the more comprehensive framework of the imperialist re-defining of the new balance of world power.

Europe acts more and more as a unitarian political entity, taking part in the establishment of the U.S. led "new world order" as a protagonist, in spite of the number of contradictions which divide the singular states over their own interests.

This is clear by looking at the European participation in the western coalition which brought war to the Gulf, by looking at the active European role in the at-

tempts at "pacification" and "suppression" of the Palestinian liberation struggle, which was put into practice at the Madrid Conference; as well as by looking at European participation in the control of the disintegration process taking part in Yugoslavia. Finally, by looking at the new role and political and military European influence - together with the U.S. - in NATO, which the Rome Summit decided to relaunch as the cornerstone of the worldwide ruling system of imperialism after the end of the Warsaw Pact and bi-polarism, and ahead of the disintegration process of the former USSR superpower.

The European imperialist bourgeoisie is at the centre of a process that cannot be stopped, in spite of the number of contradictions running through it. This process is providing a new feature to the European social economic formation in which the exploitation and repressive policies against the proletariat are intensifying across the entire continent, and in fact are spilling over onto those proletarians and people who are pushing on the borders of "Fortress Europe" or who are being exploited by the European monopolies directly in the various areas of the "Tricontinent."

This anti-proletarian push is turning into strong pressure on the revolutionary movement and people's liberation struggles, increasing the integration and centralization process of the counterrevolutionary strategy in Europe (from the TREVI group to the Schengen agreement).

A new "iron heel" that oppresses more and more the entire proletariat, from the working class to the marginalized strata of the illegal immigrants in every European country.

In Italy too, there is not any class area which has not experienced this repressive grip, from factory jobs, to schools, to the "social centres" (community centres for young people in urban area), to the slums where the "new racism" is already prevalent.

The conditions in which we must work to re-build and strengthen the revolutionary movement are very tough.

We are faced with a counterrevolution on many levels. It feeds itself on the bourgeois ideological offensive and with the contribution of the reformist bloc, already part and parcel of the state.

But this does not mean that communists and antagonistic proletarians should keep a defensive and subordinate stance with respect to the current difficult conditions.

On the other hand, the process of depoliticization and the social and political desertion by the bourgeoisie

has produced much less break-up of consciousness and antagonism than they thought to obtain.

Actually, proletarian self-determination and struggle have never stopped, and class opposition and revolutionary initiative have spoken up in the most important moments of the struggle (like during the Gulf War). From the mass demonstrations across Europe and the Mediterranean/Middle East to the guerrilla actions in the FRG, England, Greece and Turkey. Imperialist war has not silenced the revolutionary movements!

Of course, we do not to understand this as a triumphant situation, because the counterrevolutionary offensive is prevailing in the current scenario. The possibility of getting out of the long phase of the subjective crisis and political weakness of the revolutionary movement in Italy is undoubtedly tied to a complex and long process, one which will focus on the re-building of the vanguard and of a revolutionary perspective suitable for the struggle of this era.

Nevertheless, we feel that there are today the conditions necessary in order to strengthen this process of revolutionary re-building, starting from the achievements which the revolutionary experience has consolidated, and from the issues which are arising out of the new antagonist struggles here and all over Europe.

The process of revolutionary communication and struggle is re-establishing itself here in Italy, as well as across Europe, within an international dimension of struggle and revolutionary process, and is finding its main catalyst to be the struggles against the imperialist "new world order".

The practices and terms of international struggle which the antagonist and revolutionary movements are carrying out and advancing around '92 and the "celebration of Greater Europe" (the momentum for which is the next G7 Economic Summit at Munich) and against the celebration of the "Conquista" (Conquering) of the Americas are an important basis for advancing the revolutionary forces and the class movements as a whole. They are definite moments for achieving a new internationalism that can join together the struggles in the imperialist centres as well as the ones in the countries in the Tricontinent against imperialism.

We want to stay within this dimension of confrontation and struggle as prisoners here and in connection with the revolutionary prisoners in the other prisons of Europe, the Mediterranean/Middle East and all over the world.

Dear comrades, you can understand that all the

continuous activity that the old folks from the left, "democratic" parties and journals are weaving around this trial as well as the other ones, and in general, around the revolutionary prisoners in order to establish political solutions negotiations and "social reconciliation" cannot be of any interest for anyone but the "zombies"; the ex-combatants and other folks. It is all merely the spiteful product of the imperialist counterrevolution.

With this awareness, and looking at the real problems the revolutionary process is faced with, we develop our militancy in prison and in the trials.

December, 1991

Some comrades of Collective Communist Prigionieri Wotta Sitta: Susanna Berardi, Vittorio Bolognese, Lorenzo Calzone, Luciano Farina, Natalia Ligas, Giovanni Senzani



Diss'd

From 1976 through 1984, the Sam Melville-Jonathan Jackson Unit (SMJJ) and the United Freedom Front (UFF) called for the release of political prisoners and POW's from U.S. prisons. This call, accentuated through the use of explosives, was integrated with other issues such as independence for Puerto Rico, and end to apartheid, and support for liberation movements in Central America.

In 1985, the first of many trials began for 7 long-time activists and revolutionaries. Collectively known as the Ohio 7, the first group trial stemmed from resistance actions attributed to the UFF, including the bombings of U.S. military facilities. This trial resulted in numerous convictions. Subsequently, people were indicted on sedition and RICO (Racketeer Influenced Corrupt Organization) charges coming out of SMJJ/UFF actions. This case resulted in the longest sedition trial in U.S. history and acquittals for those who remained in the case. I was a defendant in both cases as were Richard Williams and Thomas Manning.

Between the earlier UFF trial and the Sedition case, there was a New Jersey state trial in which Tom and Richard were tried for the 1981 shooting death of a state trooper. In a very compelling and unequivocal testimony, Tom described how he had shot the trooper in self defense after the trooper tried to kill him with his .357 Magnum. During the court proceedings it was determined that the trooper had fired a minimum of 6 shots; carried an unregistered, unlicensed "drop gun" concealed on his person, and was previously involved in shooting incidents.

Tom testified that Richard Williams was not present at the shootings. At the trial's conclusion, Tom Manning was convicted on felony murder. The jury failed to reach a verdict on Richard, with the majority for acquittal. This led to a second trial, a retrial, which began 5 years later on September 30th, 1991, and ended with Richard's conviction in December.

A year earlier, December 7-10, 1990, a Special Tribunal on the violation of the human rights of political prisoners/pow's in U.S. prisons and jails was held in New York City. This event was convened by 88 sponsoring and endorsing organizations, including Freedom Now!, a coalition of organizations and individuals pledged to support political prisoners. Hundreds of activists attended the event. The Tribunal provided an opportunity and forum to examine the political claims and conditions of over one hundred political prisoners. Examination was also given to government claims that these prisoners are simply terrorists and criminals.

The Tribunal drew numerous conclusions based on the evidence. Among these findings: U.S. prisons hold substantial numbers of political prisoners/pow's including "white north american opponents of U.S. government policies." The Tribunal then the following call to action - "It is of critical importance that the international human rights community as well as all freedom loving people bring worldwide attention to the plight of U.S. political prisoners."

How is it that one year after the Tribunal's findings, the New Jersey trial of Richard Williams elicited no moral or political support from those who organized, sponsored, endorsed, or attended this event? Or from the organizations and individuals affiliated with Freedom Now!? How did circumstances and attitudes evolve to the point of adding insult to injury by abandoning Richard Williams to a relentless attack by the State?

It has been my position, shared with some of my comrades, that we do not distance ourselves politically from actions claimed by the SMJJ/UFF. For example, we

Now More Than Ever, Mumia Abu-Jamal Needs Your Support!

Mumia Abu-Jamal, an African-American journalist and life-long advocate for racial and economic justice, is currently on death row in Pennsylvania. He was convicted in 1982 for the murder of a Philadelphia police officer despite evidence that seriously questions his guilt and points to his innocence. Over the last decade, appellate courts have refused to recognize the racial and political biases that violated Mumia's human and constitutional rights and led to his conviction and sentence of death.

In October 1990, the U.S. Supreme Court denied both of Mumia's petitions for a rehearing on his sentence. A death warrant can be signed at anytime. Meanwhile, because he has refused to cut his dreadlocks, he is held in disciplinary custody. Family phone calls and access to TV and radio are denied. Books are censored. Like all Pennsylvania death row inmates, he is not allowed contact visits.

Mumia's case illustrates all too well the racism that permeates the application of the death penalty. Although 40% of Philadelphia's residents are black, all but one juror hearing the case was white. Eleven black jurors were excluded peremptorily by the prosecution. Further, the prosecution used Mumia's political background, specifically his membership as a youth in the Black Panther Party to argue for the death penalty.

At the time of his arrest, Mumia had become a prominent journalist in Philadelphia. The Philadelphia Inquirer recognized him as "an eloquent activist not afraid to raise his voice." His journalism became controversial with his relentless coverage of the 1978 police attack on the MOVE organization's Powelton Village commune, which left a police officer dead. Mumia's coverage of the subsequent trial and conviction of nine MOVE members - which led to sentences of thirty to one hundred years - seriously questioned the police use of force and the fairness of the trial. Then Mayor (and former police chief) Frank Rizzo made his contempt for Mumia's work very clear, publicly blaming a "new breed of advocacy journalism" for the violent clashes between MOVE and the police.

The Legal Battle

Having been denied all his direct appeals within both state and federal courts, the next stage of Mumia Abu-Jamal's legal battle will require much money and expertise. The first and most critical step is to conduct an exhaustive investigation. As the court granted Mumia only \$150 for investigative preparation for his trial in 1982, this investigation must accomplish what should have been done ten years ago. A recent re-reading of the trial record suggests that the police and

prosecution probably coached witnesses to finger Mumia. But concrete proof is needed. Eyewitnesses - many of whom had no addresses ten years ago - need to be located, depositions need to be taken, police conduct must be researched.

The fruits of the investigation will serve as the foundation for a petition for a new hearing. Whether or not this first petition is granted, it will be the basis for subsequent appeals at both the state and federal level.

The investigation must not only be thorough, it must be done quickly. Time is running out! Your financial support today will help insure Mumia's future as a journalist and fellow activist.

The up-front bill for this investigation has been estimated at \$67,000. The good news is that over \$50,000 has already been raised. In December of 1991 and January of 1992, \$23,000 was received by Equal Justice USA and Mumia's lawyer from solidarity groups in Germany. Concerned Friends and Family of Mumia Abu-Jamal in Philadelphia is organizing a dynamic grassroots campaign that has already raised over \$18,000. These funds are being pooled to advance a national drive to raise funds for the total legal effort, which is likely to exceed \$150,000.

For more information/sending donations:

Black United Fund - Mumia Defense
419 So. 15th St.
Philadelphia, PA
19146 USA

The Concerned Friends And Family
Of Mumia Abu-Jamal
P.O. Box 19709
Philadelphia, PA
19143 USA
Phone: 215 726 0289 or 473 1461

Equal Justice USA
P.O. Box 5206
Hyattsville, MD
20782 USA
Phone: 301 699 0042

Write to Mumia:

Mumia Abu-Jamal AM8335
Drawer R
Huntingdon, PA
16652 USA

(adapted from a leaflet by Equal Justice USA)

do not deny bombing the offices of the South African government in 1982, or the destruction of military facilities. We think they were necessary and righteous actions designed to draw the attention of the American people to crimes being committed by their own government.

This has had repercussions in our ability to build support among the organized Left and others. Many consider the SMJJ/UFF actions "dirty" because they involve the use or threat of violence, including confrontations with the police. These activists won't even consider extending support to those who do not establish their "innocence" or repudiate armed resistance. Trying to gain their favour resembles and appearance before a parole board.

At his recent trial, Richard Williams maintained his

innocence throughout the circumstantial case against him, yet political and moral support did not materialize. With the exception of a few individuals who braved the elements and police intimidation, the Left virtually boycotted the trial. The alternative press, with the exception of the Canadian Left, did not devote so much as a single column inch to the trial. Events were not organized or shared which would draw attention to our comrade's plight. One of the few bright spots in the midst of this wayward stampede was defense attorney Lynne Stewart who put forward a valiant effort.

Why the whitewash? Despite the rhetoric of our detractors, the issue is not one of "guilt" or "innocence". If it were, the courtroom would have been filled with

continued on page 15...

Closing Trial Statement Of Richard Williams

Richard was convicted of the charges against him on February 6, 1992 and received a sentence of 30 years to life on top of already existing sentence stemming from his participation in the armed clandestine movement (see our last issue for more information).

At this point it is customary for defendants to plead for mercy and to say they are sorry or to argue extenuating circumstances. I won't make a plea for mercy. I expect none nor will I get any. Because I am not repentant. Because I am not guilty.

Clearly, this was a political trial and I a political prisoner. Judge you did your best to deny this and attempt to criminalize me and keep politics out. So did the prosecution.

This court was turned into an armed camp and this town was virtually taken over by the state police through the months of both trials. There were 4 fully armed police in the defendants well. There were numerous plainclothes police in the audience and there were scores of uniformed police in the halls of this building and out in the street. There were even snipers on the roof, in full battle dress and in full view.

All this show of force had only one purpose and it had nothing to do with security. It was to portray me as being a highly dangerous person. It was meant to prejudice the jury, the press, the public and scare the witnesses. This was a trial by force and fear, and had nothing to do with justice. My single person could not justify all these police. I went through 4 trials as a political prisoner in various courts - 2 being here. And never had I made any overt act or was violent nor was I a problem in the court. Yet every time I scratched, numerous police in court reacted.

It was meant to scare the jury. Your refusal to recognize this is a clear indication of your willingness to comply with my frame-up. You claim to be an arbiter and not a participant but your actions or inactions and decisions belie that. You drastically limited my voir dire and you gave a flimsy reason, that there hadn't been any recent publicity, and that the town forgot about the last trial.

I've got to give you credit - you said it with a straight face. You chose to ignore the fact that the court and city

was an armed camp through both trials. There's no way that this area could forget that and this is the area the jury is drawn from. The prospective jurors had to wade through all those cops just to get in. you ignored booklets published and TV interviews over these last five years propounding the state's view. At one time every Republican voter in the state got a flier declaring Tom and I guilty. If you had wanted a fair trial you would have granted me an extensive voir dire and not cut it back. I believe you took Judge Young's remark to heart. At the end of the Seditious Conspiracy trial in Springfield, Massachusetts in 1989, after we had won the case, he said that if he had to do it over he would have cut the voir dire. Meaning that he did not like the verdict. My hung jury last time was not to your liking so you ensured that we couldn't weed out prejudiced jurors. They had to be biased and it showed in the verdict.

You only granted most of our requests on procedure because they were more than reasonable and denying them might have meant a reversal later. The first trial you denied us money for experts when we clearly needed it. You were forced to give us money this time because of an appellate decision. But then you severely limited the funds. The state's case was all circumstantial and wholly relied on expert testimony. They spent hundreds of thousands of dollars on experts alone, so our pittance was only a drop in the bucket.

You allowed all my witnesses and supporters to be harassed and wouldn't stop it when told about it. You said that you didn't see it and couldn't act. You didn't see the shooting but you sure made plenty of decisions around it. The civilian witnesses to the shoot out obviously decided in their minds that I must have done it, and I feel the show of force pushed them in that direction. They blatantly tailored their testimony: their first reports said they saw 2 or 3 people in the car. At the first trial they said 2 or 3 people. This time around they all got selective memories. They now claim that they saw only 2 people and when reminded of their past testimony they all didn't remember. They all conformed to the state's assertions.

The verdict was crazy. It was based on no logic or fact. Tom said he did the shooting. Yet even though I was never identified as the shooter, I get convicted of it. There was more than enough reasonable doubt not to convict.

The state's case was all theory and Tom refuted the state's contention convincingly. But obviously the jury was biased against me. I think they took 4 days of deliberation to try to justify in their own minds their prejudice. They were obviously convinced I was guilty for reasons other than fact.

You made a comment during the last trial - you said that you thought Tom and I were hypocritical in demanding our rights when we were dedicated to the overthrow of the government. As if the two were contradictory. Yes, the government is corrupt and needs overthrowing, but don't expect us to willingly put our heads on the block for you to chop off without a fight. As guerrillas we will endeavour to fight our best with whatever weapons come to hand on whatever field or setting we find ourselves.

There is no justice in US courts for political prisoners or for poor people or people of colour. We will fight on no matter. When denied justice we will insist on it even if we don't get it. If everyone got equal right and justice then there might be less need for people like us. Revolutionaries are not created in a vacuum. When a change is needed there will be those of us who will affect that change. Whether the status quo likes it or not.

I am no terrorist

I fight for true equality of the sexes and races.

I fight for the end of capitalism.

I fight for the end of US imperialism.

I fight for a kind of social system which is fair for all.

I've never done serious physical harm to anyone in my life. I've never shot anyone. And I repeat - I am not guilty and I did not shoot Trooper Lamonaco.

All efforts to break my spirit with isolation in prison, with isolation from my family and friends, and with numerous trials, have failed. Labelling me a terrorist and falsely convicting me of murder will not weaken my resolve.

I close with apt words by William Henley:

INVICTUS - UNCONQUERED

Out of the spirit which covers me
Black as the pit from pole to pole
I thank whatever Gods may be
For my unconquerable soul.

In the fell clutch of circumstance
I have not winced nor cried aloud.
Under the bludgeonings of chance
My head is bloody but unbowed.

It matters not how strait the gait
How charged with punishments the scroll
I am the master of my fate
I am the captain of my soul.

Richard Williams

February 6/92

Both Richard and Tom Manning have recently been moved from Trenton; Tom to USP Marion and Richard to Lompoc. Write to them: Richard Williams #10377-016, Lompoc Federal Penitentiary, 3901 Klein Blvd., Lompoc CA, 93438 USA, Tom Manning #10373-016, USP Marion, P.O. Box 1000, Marion IL, 62959 USA.

Money.
A.T.S. has none.
Send us some.



Ray Luc Levasseur and Richard Williams

Leonard Peltier And Big Mountain: 500 Years Of Resistance Continues

This year, 1992, marks the 500 year anniversary of the Columbus expedition, which many governments and corporations are celebrating as "An Encounter of Cultures." The counter-movement to this, loosely organized under the banner of "500 Years of Resistance," seeks to counter the prevailing mythology about the Columbus voyages, and many people in Europe and the Americas are organizing cultural and educational events towards that end.

The indigenous people of North America are survivors of a holocaust of immeasurable proportions. Re-examination of American history is a moral necessity for the US as a whole, and a difficult thing for the individual. On the one hand, when many non-Indian people look at events of the past, they cannot help but acknowledge that what occurred was an atrocity motivated by racism and greed, and many people see cause for shame. On the other hand, we all know we cannot change the past, most of us like to think that given the chance we would surely do better, and furthermore most Americans have been led to believe that all these bad things ended with the Wounded Knee Massacre of 1890. Consequently, many people feel there is little or nothing to be done about it now.

If this examination of the past is going to have any meaning for the future, however, it is necessary to look beyond 1890 and also assess the fate of Indian people in the 20th century, which is nearly over, and about which most non-Indians know next to nothing. The Indian Wars did not end 100 years ago but have continued throughout this century, in a more sophisticated form but with just as disastrous consequences for Indian people.

A few general points must be borne in mind in any discussion of these issues. First of all, it must be remembered that treaties are the supreme law of the land and they are made only between sovereign nations. The US does not make treaties with individual states or minority populations. This is a fact often forgotten or trivialized and this issue of native sovereignty is at the heart of every traditional land struggle in North America. Secondly, when the reservation system was set up, Indians were pushed into the lands nobody else wanted because those lands were not arable or good for grazing. In the 20th century it was discovered that most of the nation's mineral reserves (coal, shale oil, natural gas and, most importantly, uranium) lie under this undesirable land.

So once again, Indian people found themselves in the way of progress. Which leads to the third point, which is that the US government has throughout the 20th century colluded with private interests, particularly the energy conglomerates, in order to violate every treaty made with the Indian nations and thereby get its hands on the little land these people had left. A central plank in this strategy was the establishment of the tribal council system, which gave the appearance of Native autonomy but was in fact controlled by the Department of Interior. Tribal councils were opposed by most Indian tribes, but they are the only Indian voice recognized by the federal government and they are empowered to do nothing but sell or lease tribal land. The US government has made it clear that it will stop at nothing to get this land. In recent years it has acted with particular ruthlessness at Big Mountain in Arizona and Pine Ridge, South Dakota.

Big Mountain is one community in the Black Mesa region of the Navaho Reservation where right now, today, hundreds of Dine Families (Dine is the traditional Navajo's name for themselves) are facing imminent forced removal from their homes on Indian land so that Peabody Coal can expand its Black Mesa operation, already the largest stripmine in the world. These people, who live in some of the last traditional Native communi-

ties in North America, have been fighting relocation for the past 16 years.

In 1974 Congress enacted Public Law 93-531, which mandated the relocation of 10,000 Dine people. This was supposedly done to resolve a land dispute between the Navajo and Hopi, who have lived side by side for centuries. But the dispute was a hoax, fabricated in order to secure title for the execution of mineral development leases on Lack Mesa. PL 93-531 was itself the capstone on several decades of lies and legal manoeuvres too numerous and complex to describe here. There also isn't space to describe the fate of the thousands of Dine who have already relocated, more than half of whom are now homeless, or the hardships and harassment endured by those who have chosen to remain on the land. Suffice to say that in 1980 the Fourth Russell Tribunal, convening in Rotterdam, ruled that PL 93-531 violated the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide as well as five other international human rights covenants.

Nevertheless, it remains the law of the land. Relocation was supposed to have been completed by July 8, 1986. Things have moved slowly in part because both Peabody Coal and the US government have maintained a public posture that none of this is happening, but things are coming to a head very quickly. The Bush administration wants it all wrapped up this year because Peabody Coal has negotiated some big deals with Japan which require immediate expansion, and the sale of this coal is expected to significantly narrow the trade deficit with the Japanese. So we have every reason to believe that the axe will fall for good in the summer of 1992, and the dramatic increase in harassment of people on the land last fall bears this out.

The Pine Ridge Sioux Reservation in South Dakota sits on top of the largest uranium deposits in the US. Uranium mining has long been opposed by the traditional Lakotas but in the early 1970s Pine Ridge had a tribal council headed by a man named Dick Wilson who favoured uranium development and routinely murdered or assaulted his opponents. This situation led the traditional Lakotas to ask the American Indian Movement (AIM) for help, which resulted in the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973.

In the backlash of the next three years, scores of Indian people at Pine Ridge were murdered and hundreds more were victims of violent assaults. The vast majority of these crimes have never been investigated, even though the FBI had jurisdiction and maintained at the time its highest ratio of agents to civilians found anywhere in the country. The FBI was in fact providing Wilson's vigilante squad with intelligence about AIM members and an impressive array of military assault weapons because the federal police were massed at Pine Ridge for the express purpose of destroying AIM.

The reign of terror reached a climax on June 26, 1975, when two FBI agents opened fire on an AIM camp near Oglala, South Dakota, initiating a shootout in which both agents and an AIM member named Joe Stuntz were killed. Predictably, Joe Stuntz's death has never been investigated. In addition, on the day of the shootout, Dick Wilson was in Washington, DC illegally signing over one-eighth of the reservation for uranium development.

The deaths of the two agents led to more terror at Pine Ridge and eventually AIM member Leonard Peltier was sentenced to two consecutive life terms for aiding and abetting in their deaths. He has spent the past 15 years in federal prison for a crime he did not commit, convicted and sentenced on the basis of evidence and testimony which the government acknowledged over a decade ago

WANTED



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS
Grand Theft, Genocide, Racism,
Initiating the Destruction of a Culture,
Rape, Torture, and Maiming of
Indigenous People and
Instigator of the Big Lie.

was false. Leonard was recently denied an evidentiary hearing in his latest effort to get a new trial, and there is now a renewed effort to get Congress to convene hearing on the matter.

The two situations briefly described here reflect a pattern whose outlines can be traced all over the continent. The Columbus Quintecentennial is undoubtedly raising the issues of historical injustice and cultural genocide, but these issues are being raised with all eyes squarely on the past. Our crocodile tears will not help Crazy Horse and will do even less for his descendants. Reality in Indian country today means nearly total unemployment and forced sterilization and forced relocation and malnutrition. It means having the highest rate of infant mortality and the lowest life expectancy. It means chronic injustice and political assassination. All these things are acts of war, pure and simple, and the citizens of the US need to not only recognize that these things occur, but also recognize the degree to which they profit from their occurrence. This is especially true of people who count themselves as part of the movement for progressive social change in this country, because the moral integrity of the movement, like the moral integrity of the nation, rests with its ability to face the wrongs still being done to the Native people of North America. The struggles to stop relocation at Big Mountain and gain justice for Leonard Peltier are both good places to start.

To this end we are calling for coordinated international days of action on the following dates:

June 26th - Anniversary of the Oglala shootout - Day of action to Free Leonard Peltier.

July 6th - Anniversary of the relocation deadline at Big Mountain - Day of action for Big Mountain.

October 12th - Day of Action in honour of 500 Years of Ongoing Native Resistance in the Americas.

There are many ways of getting our message across on these days, including protests (vigils, marches, speak outs, street theatre, pickets, letter writing campaigns, etc), benefits, educational events and more. Please join in these days of action in any way that you can. If you plan to participate please send information about your activities to: Support for Native Sovereignty, P.O. Box 2104, Seattle, WA 98111.

For more information about Leonard Peltier or to donate towards his legal expenses etc. Contact: The Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, P.O. Box 583, Lawrence, KS 66044, (913)842-5774.

To donate directly to Dine resistors at Big Mountain

continued on the back page...

Newroz Uprising In Kurdistan

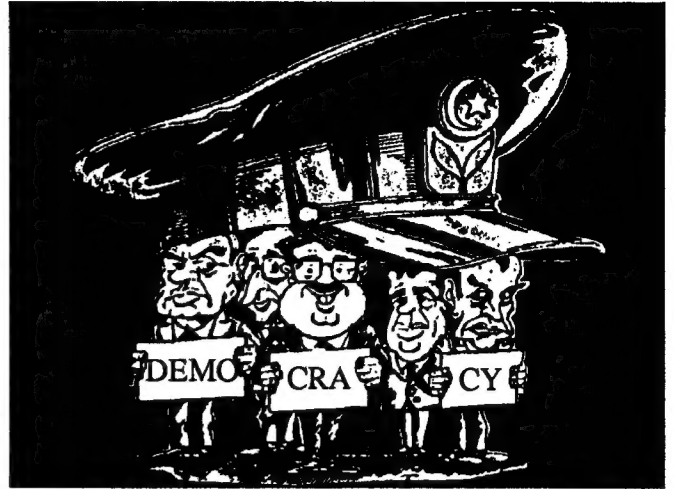
March 21 marked the start of Newroz, the Kurdish new year, and throughout north-west Kurdistan (south-east Turkey), traditional festivals and demonstrations were held. The Turkish State used these mass-outpourings of separatist sentiments as an excuse to launch a massive military campaign in the region aimed at wiping out the outlawed Workers' Party of Kurdistan (PKK).

In the days following the March 21 demonstrations, Turkish forces patrolled the streets of Kurdish villages, attacked houses, and fired on demonstrators, and Turkish warplanes carried out bombing attacks, sometimes with chemical weapons. More than 100 people were killed within the first two days. In addition to this, thousands more people were detained or arrested. In the town of Simak, for example, 30,000 Kurds were detained in a football stadium. Other residents were told to lay face down on the ground, and anyone getting up was shot. Contrary to Turkish State propaganda, most of the casualties from the Turkish military attacks were Kurdish civilians in medium-sized cities and not active PKK armed units who are primarily located in the mountains. Nonetheless, PKK units did respond with attacks of Turkish military targets, and the Turkish urban guerrilla organization Dev Sol carried out attacks in solidarity with In an effort to keep media attention away from the events in north-west Kurdistan, phone lines to the area were cut and dozens of journalists were fired on by Turkish forces. But news of the events did spread to Europe where

numerous solidarity demonstrations took place. At a peaceful march in London on March 24, police violently attacked 400 Kurds outside the Turkish Embassy, savagely beating one man into a coma. Other demonstrations in The Netherlands, Greece, and Germany erupted in violence, and in Brussels, militant Kurds attacked the Turkish embassy with hammers as other demonstrators temporarily occupied a European Parliament office.

Throughout North America, there was a near-total press blackout of the events surrounding the Newroz uprising. Apart from a few lines in the mainstream media about the Turkish army's efforts against "PKK terrorists", the murder of Kurdish civilians in Turkey went largely unnoticed. Even the so-called Left press in North America was silent on the issue. In an effort to distribute some information on the events taking place, we at ATS produced issue 1 of a Kurdistan Solidarity Bulletin (available from us for \$1) on March 27, thanks to the information sent to us from Kurdish solidarity groups in England and The Netherlands.

We are awaiting more updates on the current situ-



ation in Turkish-occupied Kurdistan which we will follow closely in coming issues of ATS.

Write to us for more information on the Kurdish liberation struggle. We also sell copies of Kurdistan Report, an english-language magazine covering the struggle for a free and independent Kurdistan. A single copy costs \$4 including postage.

European ERNK Representatives' Press Statement

As you are aware, in our country Kurdistan, as our people tried to celebrate their Newroz, a valued tradition dating back hundreds of years with peaceful enthusiasm, the Turkish colonialists, while staring directly into the eyes of the world began to put into action the plan to massacre, conceived beforehand, in a number of towns. Several cities, towns and villages have been under seige, people have been forced to lie flat on the ground, to be shot if they made the slightest movement to rise. However, the world has remained silent which is tantamount to a formal ratification of the Turkish Republic's actions.

The previous visits to Europe undertaken by Turkish officials were carried out to obtain approbation in imperialist law for their activities. The present silence towards the latest atrocities is clear evidence of this. As is popularly known, while creating a fever for Newroz, a rumour was put about that "the PKK will mount an attack with the coming of Spring" with a psychological impact upon the people, the other side of which is that while preparing the way for a massacre legitimacy is claimed. However, the PKK's highest source of authority, its General Secretary noted these words having no such intent: "Let us inform you immediately that there has been no such assault, or special, against Turkey conceived as it is wanted to be believed!" in such a way that the Turkish Republic's two-faced and counterfeit politics is perfectly evident.

Yes, respected members of the press, why is it that they see the only way of solving the problem is to massacre the people? As you all know the Turkish colonialist army's assault against our armed people's forces the ARGK is an unlawful and dirty war, and it is a fact that this will have no positive outcome. In 1992 alone, scores of war planes and tens of thousands of soldiers participated in attacks on guerilla camps in four or five assaults.

No matter how much the Demirel-Inonu coalition try to make themselves seem sweet to the Kurdish people in demagogue fashion by pretending compassion towards them in recognising a "Kurdish reality", the at-

tacks carried out by their most advance forces express more resoundingly what their real politics are towards the Kurdish people. The PKK have become the people and the people PKK. Consequently, is it possible to separate the head and body from one another? Of course, it is not.

Not one step backwards will be taken despite all the repressive measures, the attempts at pacification, the marginalisation to break the ties between the people and their leadership but that is their only alternative. Thus, they were left with the course of undertaking to massacre the people. Not even this frightens us because we recognise the centuries' old character of this State.

From where we now stand, the Demirel-Inonu government has done nothing more than put on a civil mask. The real power lies with the special military chamber and the army. Against the force of blind violence there is no right more natural than to defend oneself by every possible means. Accepting the reality of this, you send in tanks, guns and go in to massacre! In our view, this must make the world look at things from the point of view of humanity. As a number of peoples' struggles for their rights are considered to be just, why is it that the most natural struggle of the Kurdish people to be able to live on their own land peacefully is not accepted? When the new government came to power, whether for internal or foreign opinion, this view was propagated as the most topical aspect for their propaganda, saying "give us a chance and we will solve all the problems, but in stages." Yes, today the problems are being solved! But in what way? The formula that has been found to replace the denial of Kurdish reality is bombardment; today, the acceptance of Kurdish reality is to attack. For those who until now have not grasped the reality of the Turkish Republic's make-up, who have not believed it, or have unknowingly been party to it, no doubt can no longer remain partner to the inhumanity being practised against our people.

The response to every positive effort made by our Front to meet on peaceful terms and resolve our problems

in a free democratic spirit has been violence, violence and yet more violence. Every way forward had been closed, and whatever the Kurdish people will do from now on, we will not be responsible - it is evident that there is no alternative left but to go to war.

As a consequence, there is absolutely no other alternative but to fight. In every part of our country, our guerrilla forces will expand, intensify and under the banner of the ERNK our people will become organised and under the guidance of the ARGK, under the leadership of our Party in every village, town and city in every part of life and in all four parts of Kurdistan the dimensions of mass popular uprising will expand to the utmost degree. In some areas directly targeting power, in others through an intense guerilla activity, advancing internal uprising on the road to establishing a national assembly together with a war government, we will bring about a referendum. In this way, the people's determination to achieve independence and freedom will establish a practical body.

We appeal to the world's conscience not to remain silent in the face of the savagery unleashed against our country and invite you to directly witness the brutality being practised against the Kurdish people.

We inform you of the death statistics of which we are currently aware:

CIZRE town: 11 dead; villages: 18
SIRNAK 24
YUKSEKOVA 5
NUSAYBIN 15
VAN 4
GERCUS 2
ERGANI 2
BATMAN 2
ADANA 3
IZIR 1
ISTANBUL 1

ERNK European Spokeperson

March 23/92

Recent Dev Sol Actions In Turkey

During the past few months the Turkish armed underground organization Dev Sol (Turkish for Revolutionary Left) has been concentrating its attack on the repression machinery of the Turkish state; most specifically against the police and justice administration. In a communique detailing the political basis behind its recent campaign Dev Sol stated that: "Again, we will warn the judges and the public prosecutors who still work at the security-courts of the state. If you will not commit further crimes, you must retire and publicly recount about the way these institutions work against the population, about the torture, the planned conspiracies, and how the processes are being planned and introduced." Further, Dev Sol stated that "You must know, as long as you serve the enemy of the people, you will have to account for this, and you cannot avoid being consequently convicted by the purposeful justice of the people...Again we warn the government! With its lies, its double standard of morality, and through its total submission to imperialist policy, the government is responsible for the decisions of The National Security Council/MGK which via its orders and statements inspire the torture executioners and the enemies of the people to carry out their bloody policy. They cannot deny their responsibility. Again we warn, among others, Demirel and İnönü, all members of the government, the DYP-SHP leadership and all members of the parliament: you and your policies are responsible for all this bloodshed. You must bear the consequences of this policy. Your lies and statements of double standards of morality will not save you. You have only one way out: Fulfill the demands of the people and of the revolutionaries and speak the truth...We demand our rights, if they are not fulfilled, we will win them by struggle! The DYP-

SHP government continues the heritage of "The Generals of September 12th", and of the Anap-government. We will not permit that the government under the cover of human rights and democracy legitimizes the oppression and the terror! As long as the torture, the massacres, the exploitation and the cruelties continue, we will also continue our actions!"

Some of Dev Sol's most recent attacks include:

3.2.92, Istanbul: four police officers and one Superintendent were killed.

6.2.92, Istanbul: the chief lawyer of the state-security court, Yasar Günayin was executed.

9.3.92, Istanbul: a bomb exploded at the headquarters of the security police. Four officers killed.

22.3.92, Izmir: Dev Sol attacked a police car. Two officers from the anti-terror corps were killed.

22-23.3.92, Istanbul: The Carsamba police station was attacked with rockets. The building was destroyed and many police officers were wounded.

22-23.3.92, Bursa: a police station was attacked. One chief of police was killed, and other were wounded.

22-23.3.92, Istanbul: two police officers were shot and wounded.

24.3.92, Ankara: four police officers were shot. One was killed and three were wounded.

24.3.92, Adana: one police officer was shot and killed, and a police chief was wounded.

25.03.92, Istanbul: Dev Sol attacked a bus of the intelligence service. Two killed and five were wounded.

(from *Autonomi* #7)

Puerto Rican News Briefs

On March 17, 1992 in Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico, Luis Alfredo Colón Osorio, a fugitive member of Los Macheteros was recaptured. Colón Osorio and Macheteros leader Filiberto Ojeda Rios were originally arrested in 1985, along with several others, and charged in the 1983 expropriation of 7.1 million from a Wells Fargo truck. The two escaped FBI surveillance and went into clandestinity in September 1990. The FBI claim that when they recaptured Colón Osorio, he had a pistol, a grenade and a small amount of marijuana in his backpack. In a taped message sent to a radio station in San Juan, Ojeda Rios, who remains free, accused the FBI of fabricating a drug case against Colón Osorio as part of a campaign to discredit the armed independence movement.

In a related development, Ivonne Meléndez, also a member of Los Macheteros, was convicted of transporting money stolen in the 1983 Wells Fargo expropriation. She will be sentenced on July 1 and faces a 15 year sentence. Of the 15 defendants in the case, Meléndez is one of the few who did not plead guilty in exchange for a lighter sentence. "I know this trial won't be fair, that this trial is political and not criminal," said Meléndez, "but I want to go to trial because this case is against not only me, but the Puerto Rican people who are struggling for freedom." Most recently, on May 13, Hilton Fernández Diamante and Orlando González Claudio were each sentenced to five years in prison and five years probation for their part in the expropriation. They both had entered into a plea-bargain agreement with the U.S. government.

Meanwhile, in San Juan, Puerto Rico, the Puerto Rican Senate Judiciary Committee has been investigating a death squad comprised of high-ranking police officials which targeted the Puerto Rican independence movement. Calling itself the "Defenders of Democracy"

the group, among other things, bombed the offices of the Puerto Rican Bar Association in 1980, in an attempt to deter lawyers from representing pro-independence figures. The group also arrested suspected nationalists with trumped-up evidence and forged warrants. According to attorney Ignacio Rivera Cordero, a former federal prosecutor and CIA officer who represented a key member of the secret police group who was cooperating with the FBI, "There are two or three independistas who simply vanished from the face of the earth, and I'm sure this group killed them." Rivera has also stated that "this group existed with the tacit knowledge and approval of members of the FBI."

On March 11, a journalist who testified at the investigation, Manuel de Dios Unanue, was executed in New York City. De Dios had testified concerning the murder in 1978 of two young nationalists by this death squad. According to Rivera's testimony, the two nationalists were lured to a communication tower on the Cerro Maravilla mountain and murdered, with the killings being covered up by police with ties to the FBI's San Juan office. In late 1983, under pressure from the Puerto Rican Senate, the FBI reopened the case. Ten police officers were eventually convicted on federal perjury charges in the Cerro Maravilla cover-up. Eight were convicted of murder in local courts. According to reports, de Dios had shown friends an envelope a week before his death that he said contained documents implicating the CIA, the Puerto Rican secret police and authorities at the highest level of the U.S. government in a conspiracy of silence around the Cerro Maravilla case.

(Compiled from NSN Weekly Updates, *La Patria Radical* and the mainstream press.)

News Briefs

On April 10 and 11, the Bolivian police arrested six alleged members of the Tupaj Katari Guerrilla Army (EGTK), including Alvaro García Linares, alias "Quananachiri" - considered to be one of the group's ideological leaders - and his Mexican-born wife María Raquel Gutiérrez Alarcón. An official police report indicated that the EGTK, described as a radical group of indigenous tendency, had five safe-houses in La Paz and another two in the central city of Cochabamba, where police found radio equipment, computers, printers and photocopies, grenades, dynamite, fuses and timers for explosives, pamphlets, military uniforms, army license plates, and first aid kits. Interior Minister Carlos Saavedra said confiscated documents showed that the group planned to execute various political, military, police, and business figures and assault armed forces and police units. The group reportedly financed itself with robberies, managing to collect some \$600,000. Saavedra stressed the EGTK is not linked to Peru's Sendero Luminoso guerrillas or to any other Peruvian group. On April 15, speaking to the press as they were moved to the maximum security prison of Chonchocoro, Alvaro García and María Raquel Gutiérrez charged that they were both tortured with electric shocks during their arrest. The EGTK began its guerrilla activity on July 4, 1991 with attacks on the electricity grid in La Paz. The group was also thought to be responsible for blowing up electricity towers on September 19/91. Meanwhile, no one has taken responsibility for an April 10 attack - one of five attacks in the past month, according to police - on an aqueduct in the southern Bolivian city of Sucre (*NSN Weekly Update #116*). On April 17, 1992, Turkish police launched a crackdown on the Turkish guerrilla organization Dev Sol. Eleven Dev Sol militants were killed and seven captured in raids on six safe houses. Gunfights lasted for up to eight hours and one police officer was injured. Human rights activists have alleged that the security forces have been operating a shoot-to-kill policy against Dev Sol since their last big operation against Dev Sol in July. According to the governor of Istanbul, "We don't say we have broken the back of Dev Sol, but if we do a few more of these operations, then we will have ended their armed presence"... On April 2/92, three of 25 guerrillas from the Manuel Rodríguez Patriotic Front (FPMR) who tried to kill dictator Augusto Pinochet on Sept. 7/86, were sentenced to life imprisonment by a civilian judge. The three were charged with the death of five bodyguards and the attempted murder of Pinochet. Until 1991 the case was handled by a military court, which recommended the death sentence. A fourth member of the group was also given a life sentence for his part in an armed attack on a police station in 1988 during which one police agent died. Another 14 accused of that attack and the Pinochet assassination attempt were given sentences ranging from three to 20 years; four others were acquitted. A new rebel organization seems to have emerged in Chile, grouping a still active faction of the now-disbanded FPMR with the Lautaro movement and a militarist faction of the Revolutionary Left Movement (MIR). Pamphlets say the group is called Subversive Insurgent Coordinator for a Free Homeland. The group has been blamed for a series of attacks on Mar. 29 and 30, including bombings and the drive-by shooting of a police station (*NSN Weekly Update #114*). On March 31/92, Fernando Silva, a GRAPO prisoner, escaped from prison in Granada, Spain. According to the newspaper *El País*, he escaped through a hole which

continued on the back page...

Revolutionary Cells Communique

Bad News On A Piece Of Paper

*Today, that my friends are dying
only their names are dying.*

*How can one hope
to understand more than the letters
out of this violent hope
glimmer of tender blackness
arrows into known memories?*

*Only those
who live outside the prisons
can honour the dead bodies,
cleanse themselves from
the pain about their dead with hugs,
can scratch the tombstones
with nail and tears.*

*But not the prisoners:
we can only whistle,
so that the echo
calms the news.*

Roque Dalton

Gerd Albartus Is Dead

1. He was shot back in December 1987, after he had been put before a tribunal and sentenced to death by a group which considers itself to be part of the Palestinian resistance and which he had worked for.

We received the news only a long time afterwards. Until then we had assumed that Gerd had not returned from a journey to the group, because he knew about the house raids, prosecutions, and arrests in Germany in 1987 and feared that he too would be arrested if he were to return.

Attempts to gather information about his whereabouts were fruitless and left us with this assumption. We, like most of his friends who were concerned about him, figured this as an opportunity to escape from police surveillance and harassment, which had intensified since his time in prison. We were convinced that he had "gone underground" - but not within our framework, but in some other safe place and with a political association he had ties with.

The fact that more time passed before we decided to make our knowledge of his death public was our decision. Our attempts to come up with some sort of adequate answer, given the monstrosity of this act, one which would fulfill the need for revenge without hitting false targets, were unsuccessful. We failed in our attempt to find some way to express our horror and sorrow beyond a mere bit of news on paper. In a sense, going public with this means a capitulation instead of advancing claims.

Naturally, there were and are controversies involved in going public. The charge was made that we would only be paying tribute to the spirit of the times by clearing off a clean slate exactly at a point in time when getting even with leftist history is already a question of good taste. The text, it was said, would just fall back at our own feet, after adding more fuel to the well-known clichés about the spiral of violence within armed fighting groups. Beyond this, we were warned about weakening Palestinian solidarity. Making such a report public would automatically fall back on the entire Palestinian resistance, because no one would be able to see through the network of Palestinian organizations and factions, and since we obviously couldn't add detailed facts and concrete information. This - in the wake of the Gulf War and

the ridiculous pro/anti-Israel debate which arose - would be send a bad signal, and that making such a statement public would unleash a flood of reactions which we would neither be able to overlook nor take responsibility for.

We ultimately got past all of these objections, even though they made us hesitate for quite some time. The legitimate fear of playing into the hands of the other side should not, however, be an excuse for sweeping dirt under the carpet. This fear has all-too-often been used as a pretext for silence. Maybe we have to rethink some things, to learn that lies and self-deception only add more to our defeat than does an open discussion of our internal contradictions - even considering the danger that the enemy may benefit from this. Those who dream of liberation but don't want to know of the dark sides of liberation cling to naive notions of revolution which can never lead to its reality. We do not want to cling to legends and images, which are due more to naive projections or a process of repression than to our own experiences. Are we of any use to anyone if we proclaim a false sense of unity behind the banner of internationalism, while behind the facade the contradictions clash with one another? Only if we have a discussion without illusions about real political and ideological contradictions will we know how to deal with them when confronted with them.



This isn't about making revelations or accusations - even if we can't prevent the text from being used in a way which we disapprove of. We do not share the fear that we are giving ammunition to the other side. This side was not badly armed in recent times, and if they were lacking ammunition, they could freely take it from the Stasi-archives. Those who want to strike out at us don't need to wait for anything from our side, but they can decide for themselves when the time is right - it doesn't matter if it's true. And if we are giving new information to the cops, then the only result will be the disbanding of a target prosecution team.

The meaning of this publication is very simple: we want to prevent a comrade of ours from disappearing without a trace. We want to counter-act the notion that one of us can be executed without any opposition, even if we lack the concrete means to get revenge. We want to remove any doubts about the justification for this decision, which is in line with our standards. And finally we want to put an end to the horrific-grotesque state which his relatives and friends are in: the false certainty that he, albeit far away and untraceable, is OK.

For us, Gerd's personal integrity is above reproach. We only have vague information about the accusations

made against him by the group, but even more details could not shake our certainty that there could not possibly have been a reason to execute him. Whatever the motives were of those who killed him, they lie beyond his person.

On the contrary - they belong to the macabre paradoxes of this story, that Gerd, in whose political biography support for the Palestinian resistance stood central, has fallen victim to one of those groups which counts itself as part of this resistance.

2. Our knowledge about this group and about Gerd's relationship to it is limited. The connections go back to a time some years ago when we underwent a major change of political focus. How these associations have changed in the meantime, we don't know.

The time we are talking about is the time after the failed liberation of prisoners at the end of June 1976. A four-person commando, consisting of two Palestinians and two RZ members, Brigitte Kuhlmann and Wilfried "Bonni" Boese, had hijacked an Air France Airbus and demanded the release of 50 imprisoned comrades, held for the most part in German and Israeli jails. On board the plane, which took off in Tel Aviv and stopped in Athens before attempting to fly to Paris until it was redirected to Entebbe [Uganda -ed.], were more than 250 passengers, among them 100 Israeli citizens or Jews of other nationalities. After the non-Jewish passengers had been released a few days later, the commando extended its ultimatum to give more time for negotiations. The Israeli government, however, used this time to plan a military solution. During the night of July 4/76, a special military unit raided the Entebbe airport and made a bloody ending to the kidnapping. All of the members of the commando were killed and none of the prisoners whose release had been demanded were set free.

It took years before we could come to grips with this setback. Because we were so struck at the loss of our friends, we weren't at first able to comprehend the political dimension of the catastrophe. Instead of realizing what we were accused of, namely that we had participated as an organization in an operation during which Israeli citizens and Jews of other nationalities were singled out and taken as hostages, we instead focussed on the military aspect of the operation and its violent ending. The calculations of the regime should not be proven correct. In order to at least keep the option of the liberation of the imprisoned comrades open, we needed to act and not be hindered by the alarming news about the course of the kidnapping and the role of our comrades in it. We considered the news reports, which made mention of the special selection of hostages and the specific role which Germans played in the commando, to be a form of psychological warfare. We knew that Brigitte and Bonni were anti-fascists, and we understood their motives for participating in the action. Our understanding of solidarity prohibited criticisms of our comrades; we avoided discussing the mistakes, acting as if solidarity does not also principally include that individual members can make mistakes.

Similarly, the search for answers as to why the action failed remained superficial. We were not able to do anything more than logistical criticism. We deplored the fact that the original plans and agreements had not been carried out, and that the actual course was the opposite of what had been originally intended. We criticized the fact that the action, which was to have a purely pragmatic purpose - namely the immediate release of political prisoners - became more and more a propaganda stunt as time wore on, one which Idi Amin [then president of Uganda -ed] used to his advantage. We charged that the decision-making power had been taken away from the commando

during the operation, and that after the landing the comrades were solely following orders that were given out somewhere far away from the site of the action. We finally resigned ourselves, with reference to the special dynamic of military operations, even though our confidence in direct international cooperation as a special quality of practical anti-imperialism had reached its limits.

We failed to see that the limits of this cooperation were not technical but rather political in nature, even though the direction and course of the action were clear. The commando had taken hostages whose sole commonality was the fact that they were Jewish. Social characteristics, such as background or function, status or personal responsibility, criteria which usually figure into the foundations of our practice, did not matter in this case. And even though it was not the commando's fault that the one hostage who did not survive the action happened to be, of all people, a former concentration camp survivor, this fact underscores the logic of the operation nonetheless. After Mogadishu nearly a year later [FOOTNOTE: capital city of Somalia; during the kidnapping of Schleyer by the RAF, a Palestinian commando had hijacked a Lufthansa plane in order to put pressure on the German government to give in to the demands of the RAF; an GSG-9 anti-terrorist unit stormed the plane; that night, October 18/7, the imprisoned RAF comrades Andreas Baader, Gudrun Ensslin, and Jan-Carl Raspe were killed by the German State in the Stammheim maximum-security prison.], there was a wave of criticism, even from radical-leftists, that an unspecified group of German tourists had become a tool for negotiations. We didn't take this into account with Entebbe, even though the action had totally violated some of the most fundamental rules and morals of revolutionary politics. The horrible threat, that anyone who enters Israeli territory must know what kind of risk he/she is taking, had become a bloody reality.

Entebbe was not an isolated incident, but rather the culmination of a process in which we had become more and more distant from what we were fighting for. The sentences which Ulrike Meinhof had written nearly ten

years before during the Six-Day War had been forgotten: "There is no reason why the European left should give up its solidarity with those who are persecuted; this solidarity continues into the present, and includes the state of Israel." The Black September of the Palestinians, the Israeli air raids on the refugee camps, the mass despair in the occupied territories, the regime of horror that the occupation forces had installed there, and the reports from Israeli prisons were enough reason for us to push our knowledge of Auschwitz into the background. We adopted the slogans of the Palestinian liberation struggle and failed to realize that our own history should have excluded us from taking one side. We analyzed the conflict within the context of the anti-imperialism formed around Vietnam, even though this context was not relevant here. We no longer saw Israel in terms of the Nazi Holocaust, but only from the point of view of its history of settlement. For us, Israel was a front-line agent of Western imperialism in the Middle East and the Arab World, not a place of refuge for those who had survived and gotten away; a necessary place, so long as the possibility of a new mass-murder could not be ruled out, and as long as anti-Semitism continues to be a real existing historical fact. The dramatic fact that the need for security for Jews can only seemingly be realized against the Palestinians did not present us with an unsolvable dilemma. Instead, we took the opportunity to place ourselves alongside the ones who were weaker in our point of view.

Where we, under different conditions, insisted on the differences between those on top and those on bottom, we mainly saw good and bad peoples in the Middle East. At most, we criticized the pathos of Palestinian patriotism, despite the fact that Israel's own history should have shown us that the realization of the Palestinians' dreams would not necessarily mean an end to exploitation and oppression, but rather their perpetuation under different guises. Suffering and lived-through persecution are no guarantees that people won't turn into monsters as soon as they mass together in a nation-state. There can be no revolutionary solutions when two ethnic communities put claims on the same piece of land. As understandable

as the conclusions were which the Palestinians drew from their experience of persecution and expulsion, we could not share them without getting into an unsolvable contradiction between our own history and political identity. The legitimate and necessary criticism of Israel's occupation policies and the natural solidarity with the Palestinian resistance had mutated into a willingness to make Jewish passengers, whatever their nationality, liable for the terror and cruelties of the Israeli regime, and to thereby exchange social-revolutionary standards for mere tribal standards. The extent of this historical amnesia and moral disintegration, which expressed itself in this willingness, is the heaviest burden which our history carries with it.

There are a number of factors which explain this fatal development. Factors like suspicion and doubts about ourselves, who live in the rich North, or opportunism in the face of the possibilities which

the cooperation with the Palestinian organization offered; these surely played a role, as did the pressure to act, given the isolation conditions in the West German prisons. Or the fact that we were only part of the historical tendency with our understanding of anti-Zionism, which all fractions of the left had adopted at that time. But as plausible as all these reasons might be, they are no excuse for the enormous mistakes we made at that time - mistakes which should never have happened.

We cannot say that we saw all of these things in this way back then, in the first months after Entebbe. Instead of making a thorough analysis of the logic, course, and result of the action and drawing conclusions from this to relate to our further practice, we satisfied ourselves with half-hearted criticism. Only a few people recognized the immediate consequence, which was to again connect ourselves to those people for whom our politics in Germany were intended, namely orienting to domestic social and political movements.

But still, the Entebbe experience left some scars. The slogan about the caravan which continues on its path while the dogs are barking was more a slogan than a description of our reality. Knowledge of the catastrophe kept on smoldering, continually demanding self-critical discussions from us when we couldn't get around the truth. The consequences of this discussion, which was more underlying than open, were not only splits in personal friendships, but the discussion also affected the basis of our political concept. Even if we can't distinguish in every case at which points this experience played a crucial role or where it was just in the background - that it played a central role in determining the positions which marked our politics in the coming years is beyond question. As justified as it may be to accuse us of a lack of consciousness, it would be wrong to say that Entebbe - albeit only in the form of the creeping poison of a life-lie - has been pushed aside in our political self-understanding.

That we have not done any actions since then directed at Israeli installations is something we only realized much later. If the issue was on the agenda, we looked to the West, like to German installations which profited from Israeli politics. We pursued the treatment of Palestinian refugees by the West German asylum departments closer than the drama of counter-insurgency in the occupied territories. Instead of doing actions that might be misunderstood, we did no actions if we had any doubts about their being interpreted as being anti-Jewish. We had many reasons for being reserved when we were dealing with the motive and political content of anti-Zionism. The knowledge that we as leftists are not immune to anti-Semitic sentiments, merely badly disguised in national-revolutionary terms, practically blocked us. The dilemma of political abstinence which resulted seemed possible to some of us to be solved by taking up the theme of NS-continuity [the idea that Germany today still exhibits a definite evolution from the national-socialist days of the Nazis - ed.] and by looking for examples of Jewish resistance to the Nazis and relating to this, rather than making politically fatal analogies to legitimize and satisfy our need for action, as often happens in leftist anti-Zionist documents.

Another consequence has been the slow withdrawal from international contacts. Slow, because they were old, and also emotional, because we had to break with those terms and ideological constructs which had made actions like Entebbe possible. A political understanding was articulated and formed in this process, one which was very different from that of the group with which we had been cooperating until then. Differences which we had ignored for a long time, or which we had classified as differences stemming from our different conditions or of our status from being from the metropolises - these now proved to be heavy contradictions, where a solid common denominator could no longer be found. The claim of acting in solidarity out of different



positions had reached its limits.

Our cooperation with this group was based on an understanding of anti-imperialism which directly linked social liberation with the achievement of national sovereignty. The end of foreign rule, we thought, would be equivalent to the beginning of a social revolution. Because the liberation organizations represented the people who were fighting for their independence, they were a natural focal-point for international solidarity. The fact that a take-over of power almost always results in the destruction rather than the development of the social content of the revolution didn't fit into our picture of a homogenous liberation process, so we blocked it out. The leaders of liberation movements - as soon as they occupy the command posts of the young nation-states - act as the protagonists for the development of brutal dictatorships; mostly the old cadre benefit from the newly gained independence, while the continuing mass misery requires a new explanation. In short, the whole dialectic of national and social liberation is mostly to the advantage of the new ruling forces, and this is not so much due to the betrayal or corruption of morals, but rather corresponds to the nature of founding a new State. Only after the founding of new states developed and the multiple forms of social counter-power articulated themselves, whose enemy was the force and utilization embodied by the State, were we able to make some sense of the myth of national independence and peoples' will.

We came to realize that the full spectrum of social needs and interests did not find a place in the liberation organizations and that the dimensions of gender- and class-struggle could not for one moment lose their importance, even in the process of anti-imperialism. We could not be satisfied with the nationalistic-ethnic slogans on which the togetherness of the fighters and commanders was based, because they were the ones - as the cadre operating under conditions of war - who were developing the forms of future exploitation.

We could no longer ignore the fact that it was men who occupied the central posts in the liberated nation states, men who at the same time had control over women and reproduction. We had to question the myth of people's war and its revolutionary qualities, and we had to newly understand its double-identity as a moment of liberation and as a form of destructive rationalization - a rationalization whose first victims were the refugees, as well as the women and children in the border camps near the fighting areas. In short, we had to break with all facets of Leninist-Stalinist notions of national liberation which had determined the politics of the COMINTERN from the beginning, and which we had taken on in the course of the reception of Marxism-Leninism in the beginning of the 70's.

This is not meant to reproach or renounce those with whom we had fought together back then, but rather the very general conclusion of an experience. This is a criticism of incorrect notions of harmony which we held for a long time, and which many anti-imperialist groups continue to adhere to. There is a contradiction between the international solidarity of revolutionary groups and movements on banners and their difficulties of fulfilling this solidarity. The existence and violence of the enemy are not enough to limit the contradictions and conflicts within one's own ranks. Again and again, antagonisms come to light here whose origins lie in conflicting interests, aims, or self-erected ideological barriers. Again and again, what one group deems absolutely correct and necessary is seen by another group as both wrong and damaging. From this, despite claims of unity in action in the face of the enemy, sharp controversies develop which can eventually tear things apart. But the outcome of such controversies within revolutionary camps is not being decided by good will or better intentions, but rather, like everywhere else, by the contradictions of power.

Entebbe. In January 1977, during an attempt to set fire to a cinema which was screening a movie about the hijacking, he was observed by an observation team and arrested the next day. [The RZs had made a series of coordinated attacks on cinemas all over Germany. There were also actions in other countries; in Italy, for example, the film was not shown due to attacks. No persons were injured in these attacks. -ed.] The Dusseldorf state court sentenced Gerd to 5 years for attempted arson and membership in the Revolutionary Cells. When he was released at the end of 1981, he met us and found us in a completely different situation. He himself never accepted that split which we had made with our history. He shared the criticism of other comrades with whom there were intense discussions about our decision to abandon our international connections; some people separated themselves because of these discussions. Gerd felt these reductions and the emphasis on political differences weakened and split the group. The price we would pay for emphasizing our own autonomy would be a disappearance into insignificance. The voluntary renunciation of a concrete anti-imperialist practice would not only make a farce of our revolutionary claim, it would also amount to a capitulation in the face of practical duties, such as the liberation of prisoners, the securing of retreat possibilities, or the maintaining of a certain action standard. It would be fiction to believe that the RZs could fulfill the tasks which we had set for ourselves relying on our own force alone. Furthermore, he felt the split would result in a loss of subjective radicalism; this was already due more to our fears than to real necessity. For the deceptive advantage of a "clean slate", we had brought the RZs to the level of small-leftist militancy and had abandoned the guerrilla-claim. Our "self-criticism" of Entebbe and what followed was a document of double moral standards which could only be kept up if we shielded other realities from our perception. It would be a wrong, wishful picture, and at the same time

ignorant of real suffering, if we wished to be both revolutionary and keep our hands clean at the same time. Politics doesn't work according to inter-personal morals; he predicted that the split would mean a quick end to the RZs.

In contrast to our decision, Gerd held fast to the idea of direct relations with the Palestinian resistance, not the least because he felt attracted to the solidarity and subjective radicalism he had experienced there. He was aware that this decisiveness was deeply influenced by macho behaviourism and of the contradictions this entailed and which stopped him from making a definite decision for a life in these structures. He tried in his own person to reconcile the differences between his aims and demands. Despite the differences which this caused between him and us, we also recognized it as a strength that he could think in opposites and withstand tensions which also stem from the ambivalence and brokenness of metropolitan subjectivity. He searched for more comprehensive solutions whereas we had retreated onto a seemingly safer terrain of political practice which we thought we could oversee better. Where we were held back by doubts, questions, or insecurities, he fought his way through with the motto: "It doesn't matter; it has to happen." He maintained the old contacts, both because he wanted to and because he felt a responsibility to the comrades there - but maybe also because he thought that one day we'd change our minds and then he could take up the old contacts again. When we tried to nail him down to a definite decision, he withdrew from the group. He insisted on his own way: against totalitarian group claims, against all attempts at ownership, from whatever side. He refused his services when the fine line between obligation and regimentation was crossed. We had our difficulties with this, but we loved him for this especially. His sense of conviction has always fascinated us, especially because it was strange to us in this form.



Gerd never let himself be forced onto one issue, no matter how important it seemed to him. Those who knew him knew he was involved in thousands of things without ever getting reduced to one. He deeply distrusted the puritanism and rigorism of some leftist people who begin at some point to regret having sacrificed parts of their lives for the revolution. What might have appeared to be unsteadiness at first glance was, in reality, a sense of pleasure from living out contradictions. This pleasure was born from the knowledge that the shortest path mathematically between any two points might be a line, but that politically it might not be the quickest or the best way to success. What falls down as right or left now might prove later to be irreplaceable. The compatibility of seemingly contradictory things and standing up to everything that excludes others was his answer to the question of how a life is possible in opposition to the ruling circumstances under metropolitan conditions.

One can imagine the irritation he felt everywhere when one recalls the whole spectrum activities which comprised his life once he got out of prison. He worked as an employee for the Green Party in the European Parliament and made features for the WDR [German tv and radio station -ed.], which required that he treat the question of imprisonment with the same importance as gambling prohibition or a triathlon. Gerd was active in a prisoner support group, he wrote to and visited imprisoned comrades, he helped found the prison journal "Pieces", and he also nourished his contacts with his former co-prisoners who had since been released. He lived openly as a gay person, helped to organize events on AIDS, and enjoyed the gay-scene in Ibiza. He published texts on Israeli politics and took on tasks which his international contacts required. He was active in the Dusseldorf political scene and then stepped out of it when its framework became too narrow for him. Although he criticized the half-heartedness of the RZs, he helped us

without hesitation where it was in his ability to do so. He had a lot of expectations, but could naturally only fulfill some of them. Those who wanted his full devotion were always to be disappointed.

4. When Gerd went to a meeting with the group in November 1987, he did so of his own accord. The fact that he was put on trial immediately after his arrival must have been a big shock to him. He could not possibly have been aware of any mistake or negligence, otherwise he would have started his trip with more doubts, because he had no illusions about the group's code and rules and he accepted these.

We do not wish to speculate about the motives of those who are responsible for his death. What is obvious is that the standards of two completely different worlds collided. Under conditions dictated by the logic of war, strict obedience and willing submission are what count; there, ideas and ways of behaviour which are not in accordance with usual patterns are met with distrust and rejection. Where daily life is determined by military attacks, a permanent state of siege, curfew, arrests, and torture, the fronts are clear. There is little room for the ambivalence which results from a metropolitan background. There, questions about one's own person must sound ridiculous. That which is here a search, an attempt, and a struggle for new impulses and justifications is there quickly confronted with suspicions of undecisiveness, hesitation, and betrayal. And it's only a small step from doubts of loyalty to accusations of betrayal, including the murderous consequences linked with that.

But despite that, we think such an explanation is wrong; it is superficial and short-sighted. It legitimizes a conscious decision with the pressure of the situation and makes victims of former helpers. Experience of the violence of the enemy doesn't free anyone from the obligation to justify at any time about the methods and measures one is employing. It is cynical to blame the devaluation of life on the conditions of war. And in this concrete case, what falls in the responsibility of a single group is true for the entire Palestinian resistance. However, we have no reason to make generalizations; it is wrong to make conclusions about an entire movement based on the actions and methods of a single group.

No: the willingness to murder a comrade cannot be excused by the harshness of the conditions; it is the expression of a political program whose only language is the take-over of power, the language of future dictators. History is full of examples of revolutionary organizations and movements who had to struggle under equally brutal situations, but which did not take on the methods and brutality of the enemy. These may be a minority, but that fact that the majority of Bolshevik parties operated with the motto that the ends justify the means and that everything against the enemy is OK is not a valid counter-argument.

This is a historic debate which has its roots in the Paris Commune, the October Revolution, and the Spanish Civil War. When victory becomes the measure of everything, not only the best, but also the worst forces are unleashed. Those who obtain power by any means and defend it by any means undermine themselves at the same time. Rosa Luxemburg said of the Bolsheviks, that the perversion of the revolution is worse than its defeat.

The argument for success, which orthodox communists have for years used against the "romantic losers" of the liberation groups, has proved its insufficiency these days. We cannot and do not want to ignore any longer that a man's world is running wild, that the world is about power bastions defending themselves from one another and from those below, that in such a world gay identity is met with suspicion. Because we have learned these things, and because we prefer to see ourselves in the tradition of the Spanish anarchists rather than the COM-INTERN. We do not agree with talk of the rules of war. Certain rules may be understandable in other places, but

they usually come into practice because there has not been a conscious political decision beforehand. We cannot accept such rules our own, because they stand in diametrical opposition to our own ambitions and utopias. The death of Gerd makes it clear one more time that there are worlds of difference between this kind of thinking and our thinking - and there is no possible connection between these worlds.

The fact that we have made such a taboo of violence within our own ranks and that we are only now horrified about it when affected by it ourselves is a criticism we will have to accept. We have no excuse. It was the death of Gerd that made us recognize the dimensions of the tragedy of the fact that even within revolutionary organizations political questions get answered with military means. This has been an occasion for us to remember the thousands of known and nameless comrades who have lost their lives or suffered because they were accused of betrayal or because they found themselves in the middle of an inter-organizational power struggle.

But his death is not an argument against revolutionary practice per se. This knowledge about violence within the ranks of the movement is a reason for us to pause, for sorrow, for despair but not to give up and make peace with the conditions around us. Those who understand us and yet still think that we would now lash out at those for whom terror is normal business, simply because one of us has been hit, are on the wrong path. The self-righteousness and hypocrisy of those who now lustfully inspect the wounds of the revolutionary movement, while ignoring the millions of corpses on which the Western wealth and democracy they so appreciate is based, are utterly repulsive to us.

The discussion which began with Gerd's death is taking place on both sides of the barricades. It has to do with the connection between politics and morals, the contradictions between national liberation and social liberation, and the difference between revolutionary violence and terror. What is at question is the Leninist heritage which has infused itself into our minds and which affects us more than we are conscious of. An analysis of history cannot solve the difficulties we are facing here, nor can the emphatic reference to worldwide struggles. Especially since revolutionary politics in a place like Germany is so isolated, it always has to insure itself of a social setting if it wants to be more than a mere expression of the subjective situation of its actors or the weak reflection of a ideological construct. How quickly all the nice words and best intentions become just hollow phrases as soon as we fail to relate to concrete reality but rather take our orientation from demands which have their origin in different conditions, as can be witnessed in this chapter of our history.

In 1973, some RZ comrades said in an interview that "there also exists a part of our politics which many comrades do not understand and do not accept and which the masses do not understand either and aren't interested in now. Despite that, we think it is correct that internationalism, in the form of solidarity with comrades in foreign guerrilla groups and solidarity with the fighting peoples of other countries, be a part of the struggle." What was then an attempt to rectify the world-wide imbalance in revolutionary development ended up splitting from the social processes here. It became a free ticket for action requiring no political meditation. The logic of this argument partially explains our years of silence on Entebbe. At the same time, this silence showed we were moving on a one-way street: what we were doing on an international level was not in line with the anti-imperialism we were fighting for in West Germany, but was in fact in stark contrast to it. We had to make a decision. And those who have followed our practice in the 80's know the result of this decision.



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supporters from that nearby hotbed of radicalism, New York City. As it was, the courtroom was filled with state cops making their own political statement. The real deal with those that renounce us and retreat from trials and prison battlegrounds is that we are seen as anti-imperialists with guns. Guns were used to defend ourselves; guns to confront the enemy, guns that speak for our own liberation and provide support to others. With no apologies.

Self-defense was clearly established in the New Jersey case. However, our critics' convoluted logic turns around to a condemnation: What are we doing with guns to begin with? The soft part of the Left filed a superseding indictment behind that of the State, implicating us as terrorists and criminals. The guns, our lack of adherence to a particular party line, our radical ideas (e.g. the liberation of oppressed nations within the borders of the U.S. empire) are used by others to label the Ohio 7 as renegade workers unworthy of support.

There are those who've just begun to grasp the necessary understanding and courage to denounce the inherent injustice of 20 year old cases involving our Black Panther and Black Liberation Army comrades, and others. Yet they don't lift a finger to help someone on trial now. Anyone who has been chewed up in this so called "criminal justice" system will tell you support is most effective in the trial stage. Convictions are extremely difficult to get reversed, and early support lays the foundation for protracted support if necessary. A New York judge put it succinctly when he stated the government has an interest in the finality of judgements. Final - as in bury them alive, or, in the case of Mumia Abu-Jamal, execute as soon as convenient.

Much of the North American left suffers from myopia on this issue of political prisoners. It affects their value judgements. They place our value at nil. They see no relationship or kindred spirit between those who function clandestinely or outside the bounds of the Empire's laws, and the combatants, armourers, expropriators, couriers, and propagandists of other anti-imperialist struggles. Struggles represented by the FMLN, the FSLN, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the NPA of the Philippines, etc. They merit admiration and respect. We get ostracized and disrespected.

When Mandela toured the U.S. after his release from prison, I watched with pride as millions turned out to greet welcome him. Nelson Mandela symbolizes anti-apartheid resistance and the defiant spirit of political prisoners. Most Left organizations expressed enthusiastic support for Mandela - an appreciation for his sacrifice on behalf of others. It was a very special moment when Mandela spoke in Harlem. Adding to its significance was Mandela sharing the stage and place of honour with Black Panther Party leader Dhoruba Bin Wahad, and former Puerto Rican Nationalist Prisoners of War. Liberal and conservative politicians opposed their presence on stage. It is then with some irony that so many Left organizations, year after year, refused to acknowledge the political persecution of these comrades. Curious, that many didn't recognize the connection with the struggle against white supremacy in South Africa and the fight against white supremacy in amerikkka. Disturbing, that at no time prior, during, or after did anyone acknowledge the reality of U.S. political prisoners in prison for years, and still in prison today, for anti-apartheid actions.

The consistency with which the Left ignores political prisoners can be seen through the experiences of soldiers that refused to serve in the Gulf War. These working-class women and men took the risk, bad discharges, and imprisonment. For their commitment and sacrifice, they received scant support from the various anti-war groups and coalitions, with the major exceptions of Citizen Soldier, the War Resisters League, and the anti-imperialist segment of Viet Nam Veterans Against the War.

A.T.S. Member Subpoenaed By U.S. Grand Jury

On Friday May 8, 1992, Brian Conn, a member of Arm The Spirit and associated with the U.S. anarchist newspaper Love and Rage, was served a subpoena by Secret Service agents to appear before a Federal Grand Jury on May 28 in Springfield, Massachusetts. Although the subpoena did not mention a specific charge, a Secret Service agent mentioned investigating an alleged threat on the life of the U.S. President. It was these same agents who had approached Brian the day before, attempting to question him. He had refused to talk to them.

Brian had no idea why he was subpoenaed before the Grand Jury and stated that he had not knowingly made any threats against Bush. A possibility may have been Brian's speech at a student protest in Pittsfield, MA. As one of the speakers at the protest, he stated among other things that "This is not the 60's. This is not: 'We shall overcome'. This is the 90's, we shall overcome." But he never made any reference to Bush.

Because of Brian's involvement in our group and in Love and Rage, he assumed that he was being targeted by the government. Federal Grand Juries have been used as tools of political repression aimed at Black and Puerto Rican liberation struggles, anti-imperialist and women's movements and many others. Because of the nature of the Grand Jury proceedings, individuals are compelled to comply with the demands of the subpoena which can consist of either giving verbal testimony or providing physical "exemplars" such as fingerprints, handwriting samples etc., or both. Refusal to comply with these demands can result in being held in contempt and being imprisoned for anywhere up to 18 months or the duration of the Grand Jury. In this case Brian was asked to provide fingerprints, handwriting samples, photographs and any firearms application forms. He was also ordered to appear before the Grand Jury to answer questions. For political activists, Grand Juries are attempts by the government to obtain information about the movements and struggles they are

involved in as well as inform on their comrades. The only principled response to this, is non-collaboration, which is a position Brian took immediately.

When Brian appeared at the Federal Building in Springfield on May 28th he made a difficult decision in which he decided that he would provide the physical exemplars but he would not answer any questions directed to him by the Grand Jury. This decision was based on a number of factors. The main one was that Brian could not be sure that he was subpoenaed because of his political activities. Traditionally the government uses Grand Juries as "fishing expeditions", attempting to see what they can find out political activists and their respective movements. Brian was not sure that this was the case. If Brian had refused to provide the physical exemplars, which was the first part of the subpoena, he would have been imprisoned for contempt and he would not have been brought in front of the Grand Jury to testify. By providing these he was able to listen to each question but refused to answer any of them. By being able to hear the questions he would be able to gauge the nature of the investigation. As it turned out, it was the result of a computer message which said "Bush needs a bullet." None of the questions were directed at his political activities nor his involvement in our group or Love and Rage. Nonetheless Brian refused to answer any questions. In fact, before he went in front of the Grand Jury he was taken into a room by the Secret Service where they offered to drop the subpoena if he would admit he had sent the message and that it was "just a joke". Brian refused, as before, to speak with them. By providing the physical exemplars Brian did violate the principle of non-collaboration. This was a difficult decision but it was a tactical one in an attempt to find out what the government was up to. In our next issue Brian will have a statement explaining his decision which we expect will elicit discussion and debate. We welcome and urge comrades to reply.

Exceptional also in the Puerto Rican Independence Movement, and the singular example of Leonard Peltier (also, the particular effort formed around IRA prisoner Joe Doherty). They have made progress with integrating the lives of political prisoners with other community and political issues.

However, few prisoners, including anti-imperialist prisoners, receive organizational support. The demise of Freedom Now! from competing agendas, personal squabbling, and myriad other self-induced problems undermined the good intentions and hard work of a few. It dashed the hopes of scores of political prisoners, long ago forgotten. This is a continuation of a decades old legacy which relegates political prisoners to the status of irritant and minor humanitarian consideration.

The prisoners want and need outside support. We need it to remain visible and as a vehicle for activism; as a measure of physical protection and to secure our freedom. Our lifeline is perilously weak.

The State put a lot of muscle and resources into prosecuting Richard Williams. Every day, state police ringed the courthouse, patrolled the building and occupied the courtroom. This was more than a symbolic demonstration - it was a designed strategy to use the power of the State to take a man's life. The dichotomy was striking: a frenzied police power bent on exacting their pound of flesh, and the wilted response of the Left. There was the depth, character, and attitude of each in the context of a political trial.

Neither my comrades, nor I, have asked for awards,

promotions, or pensions. If that's what I wanted, I would have reenlisted with the U.S. Army rather than join with the unconventional forces. Some will say I have an axe to grind. No doubt. I began to sharpen my axe under the war skies of Viet Nam, 25 years ago. I've continued to hone its edge as my own life was rubbed raw with oppression. With me the political is personal.

This is not a criticism of the entire Left. Most of the Left doesn't even know we exist. For those who have made a difference in our lives - you know who you are. Neither is it meant to be a comprehensive analysis. My purpose is to stir the conscience and inflame the passions; to draw attention to the inherent weakness of political organizations and movements that cut and run at the first sight of a courtroom confrontation. All progressive and revolutionary movements have their activists and seditious conspirators. Some of us are imprisoned for our commitment. Do you see us as part of your community, or as casualties of a war you'd just as soon forget. Do you see us at all? For after all is said and done, the women and men locked down for their political beliefs, intent and actions are the United States' political prisoners.

Raymond Luc Levasseur, January 1992

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...The Uprising continued from page 1

There's no denying this apartheid reality or the necessity to break its chains.

Nat Turner said that the struggle for freedom was not a war for robbery or to satisfy passions. Opportunists exist everywhere, but most of those that unleashed the power of mass resistance did not act with criminal intent. They are pursuing their very survival. Their intent is to demand respect and gain some measure of control over their lives and community. What criminal intent exists is primarily represented by police violence and a system which fosters and protects the real criminals: that rotten element that lives in bourgeois splendour derived from exploiting and defrauding societies most vulnerable. Their rapacity is exceeded only by their ruthlessness and disregard for the value of human life. The rule of class and white supremacy insures that they can operate with immunity.

No doubt the system will attempt some band-aid application to problems reflected in the uprising. This has been attempted before, but hasn't worked. That's one of the messages from the streets - government money, with all its bureaucratic strings, may alleviate some conditions in the short term, but it cannot deal with the basics causes that underlie a peoples' subjugation. There's only one serious context in which to discuss money, and that is reparations. Billions of dollars in reparations. Millions of acres of land in reparations. However, a government and general population that applauds the agonizing death of Iraqi children caused by U.S. bombing raids will not seriously consider reparations simply to quell the impact of 50 deaths and property destruction in L.A.

The situation is desperate but not hopeless. To rise from the ashes and bondage requires a well-organized

and militant resistance that's willing and prepared to take it to the limit. For amerikkka's most oppressed, there is no viable alternative to revolutionary nationalism and socialism.

There was widespread participation by Mexicans in the L.A. uprising, though the media has manipulated coverage to keep them voiceless. Their involvement is understandable given the conditions of survival and the fact that amerika occupies their land. Los Angeles was forcibly taken from Mexicans in 1846.

There was marginal participation by young whites in L.A. as well as actions in other cities. This is encouraging, but it is not enough. Historically, white people have laid claims to privilege based on race. There are exceptions, but they're not the rule. White power rules in amerika, as is clearly evident in the presidency, congress, supreme court, and corporate boardrooms. You can see it in the faces of the swine wearing the badge of the LAPD. You see it in the celebrations of Columbus. There are those that embrace the racist ideology that permeates this country, other are simply complacent when confronted with its effects. Both are part of the problem.

For the predominantly white left and broader grouping of "progressives", there exists a heightened call to action. Where are the millions who created a vibrant anti-apartheid movement? Where are all those that provided political support and material aid to Nicaragua and El Salvador? Where are the near million strong that attended the recent pro-choice demonstration in Washington? And where in hell is organized labour? It is time for this conspiracy of silence to end.

For poor and working class whites, the choice is clear: collaboration with a system based on white supremacy, or combatting it. When John Brown was asked why he fought to end slavery, he replied "I act from principle. My objective is to restore human rights." When Malcolm X was asked what whites who care about Black people's struggles could do to support them, he replied "Do as John Brown did." It time to get down to dismantling the apartheid legacy of slavery. Its time to organize a 20th century movement, and to provide aid and assistance to freedom fighters. It's way beyond the time of no return.

Ray Luc Levasseur

Marion Prison, May 1992

In our next issue, #12, we will have interviews with two Puerto Rican P.O.W.'s, another Revolutionary Cells communique, a statement by Assata Shakur on the L.A. uprising, an interview with Chilean women political prisoners and more...


...Leonard Peltier continued from page 8

contact: Support For Future Generations, P.O. Box 22134, Flagstaff, AZ 86002. Another group involved in direct aid/direct action projects at Big Mountain is The Veterans Peace Action Teams, P.O. Box 743, Winslow, AZ 86047, (602) 289-4460.

Authors: Mary McLaughlin (Seattle Leonard Peltier Support Group), Arthur Miller (Bayou La Rose, Red Knife Defense/Support Committee), and Pete Murney (Support for Native Sovereignty, Seattle Big Mountain Support Group)

...News Briefs continued

he had dug in his cell wall, entered a courtyard, and climbed onto the roof of an adjacent building. From there, he got onto the street and went to a nearby hospital to have a cast put on his arm which was broken during the escape. He then fled from the hospital at 7:15 am, 30 minutes before his escape from the prison was detected, stole a car, and took off (*Angehörigen Info #90*)... In the northern Nicaraguan city of Ocotal, where rearmed former contras and former Sandinista soldiers recently staged a takeover to press their demands, a new armed group emerged over the weekend of March 28-29. The group is called the *Nora Astorga Northern Front*, and is made up of entirely of women. Uniformed former soldiers, members of a support group for the Front, told AFP that the 300 Front members are already receiving military training in the mountains. The Front's members are former soldiers, former contras, repatriates, cooperative members and others; the group began months ago as a logistical support for the "recompas" (re-armed EPS soldiers) in Ocotal, but finally decided to take up arms when the recent negotiations between and the forces that took over Ocotal did not satisfy any of their demands. The group is demanding financing for a home for the elderly, nurseries, a birthing clinic, and free medicines in the hospitals and clinics, and is proposing that the government's natural resources ministry, IRENA, begin reforestation projects to create jobs for unemployed women in rural areas. A member of the Front's high command to Barricada that the women "are ready to do whatever it takes" to force the government to address their demands. (*NSN Weekly Update #114*)... On May 29, French police arrested the leader of ETA, a Basque guerrilla organization fighting for national liberation. Francisco Mugica Garmendia was arrested along with two other ETA members... On March 16, in Copenhagen, the office of the International Socialists - a small left-wing organization engaged in anti-racist work - was blown up. A 29 year old activist, Henrik Christensen, was killed in the bombing. Apparently, a letter-bomb blew up in his hands. If, as is thought among the left, the bombing was the work of the far-right, it would mark the first political murder in Denmark since WWII. (*Ekonomia Aarhus*)... On May 11, 1992 the trial of 39 Mohawks charged in the 1990 Oka crisis got underway. The 39 were arrested on September 26, 1990 and face a total of 98 charges including participation in a riot, obstructing peace officers, weapons offence and assault. Mohawk spokesperson Ellen Gabriel stated that "It's a farce, our people are being tried for criminal actions when it's political. The Oka crisis was set off when police stormed a Mohawk roadblock set up to protest expansion of a golf course on sacred land belonging to the Mohawks. One of the 39, Harold Oakes, speaking outside the courtroom, argued that "We are not criminals; we never had any criminal intent. We took a position in regard to the land." The trial is expected to last about four months... The New York 3; Herman Bell, Jalil Abdul Muntaquin, and Albert "Nuh" Washington, who have been imprisoned since 1975 on trumped-up charges of assassinating 2 police officers, have finally won the right to an evidentiary hearing on June 26. Hopefully they will be able to prove, as did former political prisoner Dhoruba Bin Wahad, that there was prosecutorial misconduct and that the "evidence" against them is circumstantial at best. The 3 were members of the **Black Panther Party**, and all went underground as members of the **Black Liberation Army** to fight for Black liberation in the late 60's and early 1970's. (*A-Wire #8*)



Arm The Spirit is an information collective focusing on militant and revolutionary struggles. Our perspective is autonomous but we see a need to discuss and analyse all forms of left resistance in order to contribute to a revolutionary process. We welcome and encourage others to join us in our work.

La Lucha Continual

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